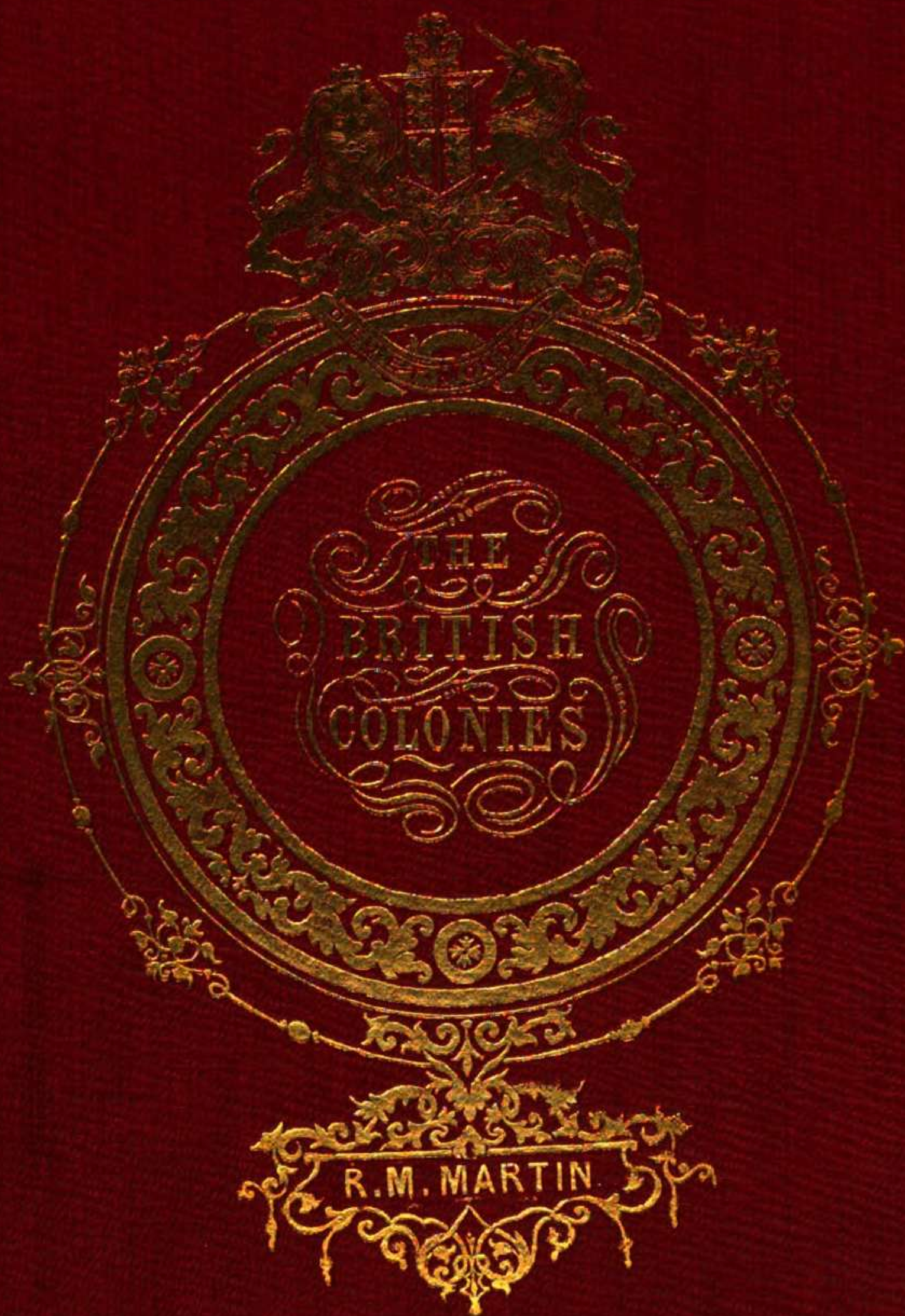
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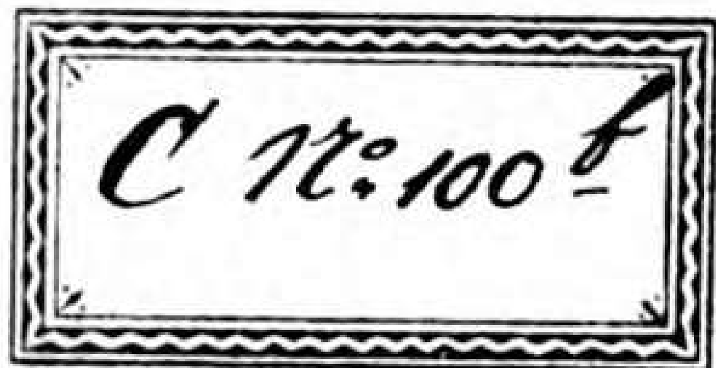
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Child, E. E., Silversmith and Jeweller, Chr... Barometers, Sextants, Telescopes, Muskets, Gun... lery, and Hardware, Wholesale and for Exportatio... 216 and 217, High-street, Shadwell.
Child, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush Manufacturer, 20 & 21, Providence-row, Finsbury.
Child, R. W., Wholesale Jeweller, 15, St. John-sq., Clerkenwell.
Chipchase, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer (Emigrants and Shippers supplied), 227, Shadwell, High-street; 23, Three Colt-street, Limehouse, and 8, Bedford-place, Commercial-road, East.
Christy, H., Wholesale Potter and Glass Manufacturer, 1, Union-row, Tower-hill.
City of London Clothing Establishment (J. Winter, Proprietor), 71, Holborn-hill.
Clark, G., Importer of Colonial Coffees. Orders executed promptly with due consideration to the quality of every article in the Tea and Coffee Trade, 135, Tottenham-court-road.
Clare, J., Engraver, &c., 7, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.
Clark, J. H., Court Head-Dress and Transparent Peruke Maker, &c., 1, Vigo-street, Regent-street.
Clarke, J., Ancient Irish and Modern Lace, Fan and Moire Antique Warehouse. By appointment—Milliner, Dress, Corset, and Habit Maker, at 170, Regent-street, 79, Bold-street, Liverpool, and 24, Princes-street, Manchester.
Clayton, W., & Co., Wholesale Export Perfumers, Fancy Soap and Brush Manufacturers, and General Warehousemen, 72, Watling-street.
Cleaver, F. S., Wholesale and Export Perfumer; sole Inventor of the celebrated Honey Soap, Winter Soap, May Blossom Soap, and every other description of Fancy Soaps, Perfumery, &c., 18, Red Lion-square, Holborn.
Cohen, S., & Co., Wholesale Manufacturing Jewellers, Goldsmiths, and Importers of Foreign Watches, 3, Castle Street, St. Mary-Axe.
Cooling, A., & Co., Manufacturing Perfumers, 134, London-wall.
Colman, J. & J., Mustard (warranted to keep in all climates), Rice, and Wheat Starch, and Indigo Blue Manufacturers, 9, College-hill, Upper Thames-street.
Collier, W. J., Cheesemonger, Poulterer, Porkman, &c.; York Hams and Wiltshire Bacon for exportation, 3, Princes-terrace, Caledonian-road.
Collingridge, C. B., Grocer and Cheesemonger, 8, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell.
Collins, R. N., Wholesale Druggist and Patentee of the Disinfecting Powder for instantaneously destroying offensive smells, purifying sick rooms, workshops, &c., and for making Bleaching Liquid, 1, Oxford-court, Cannon-street, City.
Comyns, H., Optician, 5, Hereford-place, King's-rd., Chelsea.
Connor & Co., Glass Works, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
Cook, R., Shipping Butcher, 16, Commercial-place, Commercial-road, East.
Cook, Son, & Co., Manchester Warehousemen, St. Paul's Churchyard.
Cooper, G. A., & Co., Fancy Tea-Box and Tea-Canister Makers and General Japanners, 45, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
Cooper, J., & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Pianofortes for Exportation, 43, Moorgate-street.
Cooper, J., & Sons, Manufacturers of the Patent Solid Pianofortes for India and the Colonies, of great strength and fullness of tone, 70, Berners-street, Oxford-street.
Cooper, W. T., Dispensing Chemist, Manufacturer of the Patent Aerated Water, and Pure Dietetic Cocoa, and Inventor of Improved Tooth Brushes and Antiseptic Tooth Paste, 26, Oxford-street.
Cooper, W. F., Manufacturer of all kinds of Waterproof Clothing, General Outfitter, and Importer of American Over-Shoes, 16, Aldgate, High-street.
Copner, —, Fishmonger, New-street, Birmingham.
Cotton, T., Watch and Chronometer Spring Manufacturer, 11, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
Cotton, C. R., Export Cooper, Bermondsey-wall.
Cow, P. B. (successor to Charles Macintosh & Co.), Patentees of Vulcanized India-rubber, and other Waterproof Cloths, Air Beds, Pillows, Cushions, &c., 46, Cheapside.
Cox, E., Improved Plane and General Mechanical Tool and Lathe Manufacturer, 15, Great Queen-st., Lincoln's-inn.

COX, F., Optician, 100, Newgate-street.
COX, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 5, Barbican.
COWELL, C., Shipping Butcher, 20, St. George-street, St. George's, East.
CRAIGHT, R., Scale, Weight, and Weighing Machine Manufacturer, 94, Goswell-street.
CRIBB, W. E., Chronometer and Watch Maker, 17, Southampton-row, Russell-square.
CRIPPS, J., Wire Worker, (by appointment to her Majesty and the Duchess of Kent,) Manufacturer of Aviaries, Pheasantries, Verandahs, Wire Fences, &c., King's-road, Chelsea.
CRISP, W. G., Goldsmith and Jeweller, 64, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
CROGGON & Co., Patent Asphalte Roofing, Boiler, Railway, Sheathing, and Inodorous Felt, (for damp walls,) 2, Dowgate-hill.
CROSTA, CETTA, GOBBI, & Co., Wholesale and Export Picture Frame and Looking Glass Manufacturers, 34, St. John's-lane, West Smithfield.
CROWTHER, J., Bleacher, Lyon Fold, Blackley.
DALGLEISH & SON, D., Outfitters, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiers, and Shirt Makers, 23 and 24, South-bridge, Edinburgh.
DAVIES, JAS., & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 9, Gracechurch-street.
DAVIES, W. J., Emery and Black Lead Manufacturer, New Weston-street, Southwark.
DAVIS, E. J., Marquee and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, West Smithfield.
DAVIS, G. P., Manufacturer of Launcelott's Patent Cooking Apparatus, and the Portable Washing Coppers, Gas Fitter, &c., 11, Barbican, City.
DAVIS, J., the only Bootmaker in London who devotes his exclusive attention to Theatrical and Costume Boots, 3, Obelisk Buildings, Waterloo-road.
DAVY, F., Merchant, Exeter.
DAWSON, Thos., jun., Carriage Lamp Maker, 28, Great St. Andrew-street, Broad-street, Holborn.
DAWSON & MORRIS, Isinglass Importers, 96, Fenchurch-st.
DEARE, F. D., Australian Commission Merchant, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
DEANE, G. & J., Stove and Range Manufacturers, Export Ironmongers, Cutlers, Jewellers, Birmingham and Sheffield Warehousemen, Pump and Bath Manufacturers, Dealers in Agricultural Implements, Saddle, Harness, and Horse Clothing Manufacturers, and Dealers in Fancy Goods, 46, King William-street, London-bridge.
DEANE, G. & J., Gun, Pistol, and Rifle Makers, by Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 30, King Wm.-st., City.
DEAR & WARRINER, Wholesale and Export Toy Warehouse, 191, Bishopsgate-street, Without.
DEED, J. S., Currier, Morocco, Roan, Kid, and Lamb Leather Dresser, and Wool Rug Manufacturer, 9 and 10, Little Newport-st.—Manufactory, Steyne Mills, Acton.
DEFRIES, N., Consulting Gas Engineer, Inventor and Patentee of the Dry Gas Meter and Gas Bath, Manufacturer of Gas Cooking Stoves on the most approved principles, 145, Regent-street.
DELFOSSE & Co., Patentees of the Metal Stitched Boots and Shoes, (warranted not to rip,) 31, King William-street, City.
DELICOURT, —, French Decorative and Paper Hanging Manufacturer, 125, ter Rue Charenton, Paris.—J. Solomon, agent, 22, Red Lion-square, London.
DENNE & PEARCE, Furnishing Ironmongers, 44, Farringdon-street.
DENTAL ASSOCIATION, to prevent exorbitant charges and inferior dental operations. Patronized by the Faculty. Mr. St. Marc, manager. 52, Great Marlborough-street.
DE PASS & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, and Leather Merchants, 20, Finsbury-pl.
DEVILLE & Co., Lamp, Lighthouse Lanthorn and Reflector Manufacturers, and Gas Fitters, 367, Strand.
DICKINSON, H. J., & Co., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturers; a variety of Slate Tables always in stock, for Home Use and Exportation, 84, Gray's-inn-lane.
DIXON, SONS, & TOOKE, Wholesale Jewellers, 37, Hatton-garden.
DIXON, T., Saddlers' Tool Maker, Hall-lane, Walsall.
DOBBY, JOHN, Cutler, &c., 95, Strand.
DOBSON, H. T., Wire Worker, Blind Maker, Wrought Iron Verandah Builder, Surrey Wire Works, 55, Borough-road, Southwark, and at Church-st., Walton-on-Thames.
DOBSON, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 268, High Holborn.
DOVE, E., Die Sinker, Seal Cutter, Embosser, Seal and Fancy Wafer Manufacturer, 39, Forster-street, Ashley-crescent, City-road.
DOWLER, M., Window Blind, Venetian, Spanish, and Oriental Shade Manufacturer, Spring Sun Blinds for Shop-fronts, Greenhouses, Verandahs, &c., 143, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street.
DOWSON, J. E., Manufacturer of Cundy's Patent Stove, 123, Oxford-street.
DUCKWORTH, F. J., & Co., Wine Merchs., 2, Brabant-ct.
DUDEN, H., & SONS, Cornfactors and Wharfingers, East Hall, Bermondsey.
DUDLEY, J., Boiler Maker, Cottage-row, Bermondsey.
DUNCAN & Co., R., Wine Merchants, East India and New Zealand Agents, 43, Lime-street.
DUNN, D., Manufacturer of Soluble Chocolate, Cocoa, Essence of Coffee, &c., 9, King's-row, Pentonville.
DURHAM, J. (By Special Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert), Manufacturer of Razors and Cutlery of every kind. Original Maker of the Steel Chatelaines, Needles, &c. Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation. 456, Oxford-street.
DURROCH, (late Smith,) Surgical Instrument and Truss Manufacturer, 2, New-st., St. Thomas's-st., Borough.
DUTHOIT & Co., Patent Portable Umbrella Tent Manufacturers, 6 Finsbury-place, South.
DYMOND, H., & Co., Wholesale Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, and Dealers in Gutta Percha Goods, 1, Regent-street, City-road.
EARDENSOHN, J., Wholesale and Export Ladies' Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 10, Wellclose-square.
EARL, WILLIAM, Esq., Timber Merchant, Commercial-road, Lambeth.
EARNSHAW, T., Watch, Clock, and Chronometer Manufacturer to the Admiralty, 119, High Holborn.
EDWARDS, J., Gas Apparatus Manufacturer and Fitter, 39 A, Ray-street, Clerkenwell.
EDWARDS, D. & H. & Co., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation—Patentees of the Preserved Potato, an invaluable sea store, adopted generally in the Royal Navy, by her Majesty's commissioners for emigration, the honourable E.I.C., and for shipping in general; and for its economy and facility in cooking, recommended for domestic use—supplied by all provision merchants in the United Kingdom, Colonies, &c.—1, Bishopsgate-street.
EDWARDS, T. J., Manufacturer of Dressing Cases & Writing Desks to her Majesty, 21, King-street, Holborn.
EDWARDS, CHRISTOPHER, Grocer, 2, Charles Place, Hertford-road, Kingsland.
EGLESE, J., Watch Maker and Goldsmith for Home and Exportation, 30, Cornhill.
EISENBERG, J., Surgeon Chiropodist to the principal Sovereigns and Aristocracy of Europe, 14, Cockspur-street.
ELLEY, T. B., Shoe and Leather Manufacturer, Consignee for French Shoes and Leather, Stafford, and 3, Victoria-street, Holborn, Wholesale Warehouse, 74, Dale-street, Liverpool.
ELLIS, T., Carriage and Harness Maker for Exportation to extreme climates, 60, High-street, Whitechapel.
ELLWOOD, J. & SONS, Wholesale and Export Hat Manufacturers, 24, Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriar's-road.
ELSTON & SONS, R., Watch Dial Manufacturers, 24, Myddleton-street, Clerkenwell.
EMES, J., Trunk, Chest and Packing Case Manufacturer (Bullock and Overland Trunks for India), 110, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.
EMES, JOHN, Railway Luggage Waterproof Canvass, Sheet and Tarpauling Manufacturer, Merchant's Row, Limehouse Cut.
ENNEVER & STEEDMAN, Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Plate, and all the last Improvements, 3, Little Crescent-street, Euston-square.
EPITHEM COMPANY, Sole Manufacturers of Markwick's Patent Spongio Piline (for Poultices), Impermeable Piline (for Rheumatism), Respirators, Chest Protectors, Shoe Socks, Lumbago Bands, Horse-foot Pads, the Indian Sponging Towels and Belts, &c., 32, King William-street, City.
EVANS, THOMAS, & Co., Wholesale Manufacturers of Umbrellas and Parasols for Exportation; Patentees of the "Queen's Parasol," as exhibited in the Great Exhibition, 10, Wood-street, Cheapside.

EVANS & HILL, real Manufacturers of all descriptions of Steel Mills and Screw Jacks, also the Improved Corn Mills and Dressing Machine for the Colonies, 14, Hollywell-row, Worship-street, Finsbury.

EVANS, J., & SON, Engine, Lathe, and Tool Manufacturers, and General Machinists; Contractors to her Majesty's Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Patent Axletree Manufacturers, by appointment to her Majesty and the Royal Family; all kinds of Machinery supplied on liberal terms to merchants and captains for Exportation; 104, Wardour-street, Soho.

EVERETT, J., Woolstapler, Upper Russell-street, Bermondsey, and Norwich.

FAIRCHILD, J., & Co., Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 200, High Holborn.

FAREBROTHER, CLARK, & LYE, Auctioneers, Surveyors, and Estate Agents, 6, Lancaster-place, Strand.

FARLEY, J. S., Original Cemetery Stone Works, Statuary, Mason, and Monument Sculptor, Kensal Green, and 12, Goswell-road, Clerkenwell.

FAUNTLEROY, C., Worsted and Yarn Spinner and Dyer, 13, Ropemaker-street, Finsbury.

FELGATE, W., & Co., Ship and Insurance Agents, 4, Clements-lane.

FERRARI, B., Wholesale and Export Manufacturer of Barometers, Looking Glasses, Picture Frames, and Fancy Cabinet Goods, 48, Compton-street, Clerkenwell.

FITCH, J. R., Wholesale Jeweller and Birmingham Agent, every description of Gas Chandeliers and Fittings, 51, Hatton-garden.

FLETCHER, JOHN, & SONS, Chronometer, Watch, and Clock Makers to the Lords of the Admiralty, 48, Lombard-street.

FLIGHT & SON, Organ and Self-acting Apollonicon Builders, 36, St. Martin's-lane.

FONTAINE, W., Tallow Chandler, Soap Maker, and Oilman, East-street, Hoxton.

FORD, F. C. & Co., Ships' Provision and Wine Merchants, 114, Minories.

FORSTER & SMITH, Merchants, New City Chambers, Bishopsgate-street.

FRASER, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 172, Saint George-street.

FRENCH, J., & SONS, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 5, Newcastle-place, Clerkenwell-close.

FREEMAN, Builder and Architect, New Walk, Shad Thames.

FROST, J., Copper and Brass Founder, 8, Allen-street, Goswell-street.

FROST, W., Brass Founder and General Caster for Gas Fitters, Engineers, and Ship Builders, 17, Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street.

FROST, NOAKES, & VINCENT, (Originally, James Frost,) Brass and Cock Founders, Pump Makers, &c., 195, Brick-lane, Whitechapel, London.

FUDGE, C., Manufacturing Goldsmith, 45, Seckford-street.

FURTH, DANIEL, Merchant, 29, Nicholas-lane.

GAFFIN, T., Carrara Marble Works, choice designs of Monuments, Tablets, and every description of Marble, Stone, and Scagliola Work, 63, Quadrant, Regent-street.

GALLY, P. & P., & Co., Opticians and Looking-Glass Manufacturers, 68, Hatton-garden.

GALPIN, J., Manufacturer of the Broad Drawing Pencils for bold and effective drawing, and Improved Tinted Boards for Moonlight Effect, &c., the Repository for Lending Drawings in the Broad Style, Water Colour Drawing and Flower Painting, 55, Rathbone-place.

GAMBLE & DAVIS, Wholesale and Export Shoe Manufacturers, 45, Fish-street-hill.

GANGE, G., Established upwards of Thirty-four Years, (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Maker, Manufacturer of all the latest and most Improved Principles suitable for all climates, 10, Lower Belgrave-place, Pimlico.

GARDNER, J., Bird Stuffer to the Royal Family and various Museums, 426, Oxford-street.

GASS, S. H. & D., Manufacturing Silversmiths and Jewellers, 166, Regent-street.

GATES, T., Gold and Silver Leaf, and Gold Beaters' Skin Manufacturer, 24, Vine-street, Hatton Garden.

GATTI, A. & G., Manufacturers of Preparations for Artificial Florists, 20, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, and 28 and 29, Bridge-road, Lambeth.

GEBHARD, ROTTMAN, & Co., Agents to Foreign Manufacturers, 83, Hatton-garden.

GIBBONS, ABEL, Feather Bed, Mattrass and Palliasse Manufacturer—the Trade supplied with every description of Purified Bed Feathers, Wool, Hair, and Flock, at the lowest prices—13, Leman-street, Whitechapel.

GILBERT, J. A., & Co., Grocers' Canister and Fancy Tea-Box Manufacturers, and General Japanners, 13, Dorrington-street, Clerkenwell.

GLOVER, JOHN, & SON, Brass and Malleable Iron Founders, Buckle Manufacturers, &c., Birmingham-st., Walsall.

GODDARD, J. A., Custom House, Shipping, Colonial, Foreign, and Commission Agent. Merchandise, Works of Art, Wines, Baggage, &c., forwarded and received to and from all parts of the world. 65, Lower Thames-street, opposite the Custom House.

GODDARD, T., General Agent & Outfitter, 146, Cheapside.

GOODBEHERE & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Iron and Brass Founders, Ship Smiths, Tinmen and Braziers; Manufacturers of Troop, Emigrant, and Ships' Fire Hearths, 9, Wellclose-square.

GOODE & BOLAND, Gold and Silver Chain Manufacturers, 59, Hatton-garden, and Birmingham.

GORDON, J. G., Druggist and Veterinary Chemist, 144, High-street, Whitechapel.

GOSLETT, A., Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturer, Crown, Sheet, Patent Plate, and Ornamental Glass Merchant, 26, Soho-square.

GOY, EVANS, & Co., General Outfitters, 175, Piccadilly, and 24 and 25, Cornhill.

GRAHAM, J., Woollen Draper, Shirt Maker, Hosier, and Outfitter, 179, High-street, Edinburgh.

GRAY, R., (from Collards,) Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, with Metallic Plate, (for extreme climates,) 39, Edward-street, Hampstead-road.

GRAY, T. W., Hydraulic Engineer, Brass and Iron Founder, Brazier, Plumber, &c., 79, King William-street.

GRANVILLE & Co., Manufacturers of India Rubber Waterproof Cloths and Garments, peculiarly suitable for Hot or Cold climates, Air Cushions and Swimming Belts; Patent Mineralised Rubber for engineering purposes, India Rubber Webs, Mohair, Alpaca, Gemappe, and Silk Braids of all descriptions, 9, Gresham-street West.

GREEN, —, Wholesale Druggist and Oilman, Westbromwich.

GREENHILL, C., Morocco-Case and Watch Material Manufacturer, 12, Gt. Sutton-street, Clerkenwell.

GREENWOOD, T., Church, Turrett, House, and Musical Clock Manufacturer, 5, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.

GRIFFITHS, HENRY, Looking-Glass Manufacturer, Carver and Gilder, 27, Drury-lane, London.

GRIMOLDI & STOPPANI, Barometer, Thermometer, and Sympiesometer Manufacturers, 31, Brook-street, Holborn.

GROVER & Co., Patent Seal Envelope, Note and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers. Depôt for Measam & Co.'s Medicated Cream Soap, and Regenerative Carpet Soap, 238, Strand, late of 4, Castle-street, Holborn.

GROVER, J., Army Contractor, High-street, Chatham.

GROVES & MITCHELL, Organ Builders and Inventors of the Lever Valve and other improvements, 11, Little Marlboro'-street, 8, Great Marlboro'-street, and 13, Marlboro'-row, Golden-square.

GULL, J. W., Ship and Insurance Broker, 4, Brabant-court, Philpot-lane.

GUTTERIDGE & Co., Carriage Builders for Home Use or Exportation to all Climates, 29, Davies-street, Berkeley-square.

HACKETT, W., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturer in Slate or Wood; Maces, Cues, Balls, and Billiard Cloths of superior quality—22, Acton-st., Gray's-inn-rd.

HALL, BROTHERS, Merchants, Shipowners, and Brokers, 2, Riches-court, Lime-street.

HALL & Co., Patentees of the Leather Cloth, or Pannus Corium Boots and Shoes, peculiarly soft and easy for tender feet, Wellington-street, Strand, leading to Waterloo-bridge.

HALLORAN, Mr., Collegiate School, Tavistock-road, Plymouth.

HAMPDEN & Co., General Commission and British and Foreign Patent Agents, &c., 448 West-strand, London.

HANCOCK, H., Shipping Butcher—N.B. Shipping supplied with Live Stock, Compressed Hay, &c.—79, Minories.

HARDWIDGE, J., Needlemaker, 172, Long-lane, Bermondsey.

HARRIS & SON (successors to J. Howel), Mathematical Instrument Manufacturers, 50, Holborn.

HILL, J. V., Wholesale Saw, Plane, and Tool Manufacturer; Emigrants, Merchants, and Shippers supplied at wholesale prices, 5, Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-road.

HARRIS, R., & Co., Furniture and Bedding Manufacturers, 124 and 125, High Holborn.
HART, J. T., Coach, Harness, and Engine-hose Currier, 16, Union-street East, Spitalfields.
HARTILL & LOCKINGTON (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plates for extreme climates, 41, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square.
HARTREE, W. T., Export Cooper, &c., 7, Charlotte-row, Bermondsey.
HARTSHORNE, G., jun., Iron Merchant and Manufacturer ot Chain Cables, Anchors, &c., 12, Little Tower-street, London, and Stourbridge, Worcestershire.
HAWKINS, J., Engineer and Smith in general, Hatfield-street, Stamford-street.
HAWKINGS, J., Plate and Looking-glass Warehouse, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
HAWKINGS, J., Wholesale Stationer, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
HAYES, J., Surgeon-Dentist and Cupper, 42, St. Martin's-lane, Charing-cross.
HEARN, J., Refiner and Dealer in Gold and Silver Ores and Metals, 11, Jerusalem-passage, Clerkenwell.
HEMSLEY & Co., Sextant (wholesale and export), Quadrant, Telescope, Barometer, Thermometer, Drawing Instruments, and Compass Manufacturers, 140, St. George-Street, late Ratcliffe-highway.
HENNEWAY, W., Merchant, Exeter.
HEPTINSTALL, W., Gun Manufacturer to the Hon. Board of Ordnance and the Hon. East India Company, 18, Swan-street, Minories.
HETLEY, J., & Co., Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Glass Shades for Clocks, &c., Looking-glass Manufacturers, Crown, Sheet, and General Window Glass Merchants, 35, Soho-square.
HEWETSON, JOSEPH, Sheet Zinc Manufacturer, Wholesale and for Exportation, 21, Sommers-place East, New-road, opposite Burton-crescent.
HEWITT, J., Wholesale Watch Glass Manufacturer, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
HEWLETT, A. H., Manufacturer of genuine Liquid Hair Dye free from Smell; and skin, gauze, and transparent Partings for Wigs, Fronts, Scalps, &c., 5, Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly.
HEWLITT, R., Hair Dresser, Perfumer, and only Manufacturer of Lewis's Preparations for Dyeing, Restoring, and Nourishing the Hair, 42, Duke-st., Manchester-sq.
HIGGINS, JOSEPH, Wholesale & Export Perfumer, 29 & 30, Lawrence-lane, Cheapside; Manufactory, Kensington.
HILL, W., Organ Builder to her Majesty, 12, Tottenham-court, New-road.
HILL, J., Manufacturing Goldsmith and Gold Chain Maker, 6, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
HILL & STONE, Coach Builders and Harness Makers, 20 and 21, Little Moorfields, and 49, London Wall.
HILL, JOS., Wholesale and Export Whip Manufacturer, 86, Long-lane, West Smithfield.
HODGE & ROBERTS, Manufacturers of every description of Candle, Oil, and Gas Lamps, Gas Fittings, Lamp Shades, Indian and Etruscan Lamps, Hall Lanterns, Wax and Stearine Candles, &c., for exportation, 101, Hatton-garden.
HODGE & SONS, Manufacturers of Steam-engine Boilers, Tanks, Pans, &c., Oak-lane, Limehouse.
HODGETTS, GEORGE, Druggist and Oilman, opposite the Post-office, Westbromwich.
HOE, R., Trunk, Chest, and Packing Case Manufacturer; Cases lined with Tin, Zinc, or Copper; Bullock and Overland Trunks, and Tin Boxes for India—44, Leadenhall-street.
HOLDERNESSE and HOLDERNESSE, Pianoforte Manufacturers (for extreme climates), 444, New Oxford-st., Bloomsbury.
HOLDICH, G. M., Organ Builder, 4, Judd-place East, King's Cross, New-road.
HOLLANDS, D. F., Jun., Wharfinger and Coal Merchant, Bermondsey-wall.
HOLLIS, G., Pewterer and Manufacturer of Worms, Stills, Refrigerators, Soda Water and Beer Machines, Pots, &c., 27, Crown-street, Finsbury-square.
HOLMAN, E. W., Pianoforte Maker for Home use or Exportation to extreme Climates, 10, Grafton-st., Fitzroy-sq.
HOOLE, W., Steel, Metal, File, and Tool Merchant, (Sheet-Steel for Engraving Plates,) Rolled Brass and German Silver—Brass, German Silver, and Tin Tubes—Brass and German Silver Castings, Melting Pots, Clock Materials, &c., 21, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
HORN, J. & Co., (Successors to Mr. John Hague,) Engineers and Millwrights, Iron Founders, Boiler Makers, &c., 14, High-street, Whitechapel.
HORNE, R., Paper Hanging Manufacturer, House Painter and Decorator—Export Orders promptly executed—41, Gracechurch-street.
HOPKINS, G., Trunk, Plate Case, and Portmanteau Manufacturer, Ladies and Gentlemen's Outfitter, 36A, Lamb's Conduit-street, opposite the Foundling.
HORSLEY, J. T., (late R. Richards & Son), Wholesale and Export Ironmonger—bar, hoop, rod, and sheet iron—95, New Park-street, Borough.
HOTCHKIN and MOBBS, Ship and Insurance Agents, 3, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
HOUCHIN, J. W., Engineer, Lathe, Press, and Tool Maker, Improved Cap Peak, Embossing, Cutting, and Sawing Machines, Embossing and Cutting Presses, Cutters for Envelopes, Shoes, &c., 53, Borough-road.
HOUFE, Draper, Knaresborough.
HOUGH, PETER, Card Maker, Glasgow.
HOVENDEN, R., Wholesale Perfumer, 57 and 58, Crown-street, Finsbury.
HOWARTH, H., Chemical Works, near Accrington.
HOY, J., & Co., Wine and Spirit Merchants, 6, Store-lane, Belfast.
HUBBACK & SON, Patentees of the White Zinc Paint, combining Health, Elegance, Durability, and Economy, 115, Upper East Smithfield, opposite the London Docks.
HUMPHREYS, J., Furniture Japanner, 40, Seward-street, Goswell-street.
HUNT, E., Wholesale and Retail Watch Material, Tool, and Movement Dealer, 21, Ironmonger-street, St. Luke's.
HUNT, G. A., Feather Bed and Mattrass Manufacturer, 1, Weston-place, King's-cross (Established 1826).
HUNTER, R., Manufacturer of the celebrated Deal Waterproof Coats, Seamen's Suits, South-westers, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 145, Ratcliff Highway.
HUNTER, J., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.
HURLEY, J. & Co., Commission Agents, 1, Riches-court, Lime-street.
HYAM, L., & Co., Merchant Tailors, Clothiers, and Outfitters 36, Gracechurch-street, and 86, Oxford-street.
HYAM, M. & S., Wholesale and Export Clothiers, 9 and 10, King-street, Cheapside.
HYDROMAGEN INDIA RUBBER WATER PROOF CLOTHING COMPANY'S India Rubber Boots, Shoes, and Goloshes for riding, shooting, and fishing—Manufactory, 18 Houndsditch.
INGRAM, J. Export Upholsterer, 29, City-road.
JACKSON, W. G., Distillery, Dockhead, Bermondsey.
JACOBS & SON, Plain and Cut Glass Manufacturers, Wholesale and for Exportation, 64, Crown-street, Finsbury.
JACOBS & TOWERS, Carvers, Gilders, & Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturers, 56, Mansell-st. Goodman's fields.
JACKSON & GRAHAM, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, Interior Decorators, & Carpet Manufacturers, 37 & 38, Oxford-st.
JAMRACK, J. C., Naturalist, Fixed Agent to the Zoological Society at Amsterdam, 164, Ratcliff-highway.
JAVENS, J. (Successor to S. Lench), Ornamental Japanner, Manufacturer of Grocers' Tea Canisters, Fancy Boxes, Bowls, Tea-trays, &c., 13, Coldbath-square, Clerkenwell, and 3, Liverpool-street, Bishopsgate-street, Without.
JEFFERIES & Co., Patentees and Manufacturers of Wet and Dry-weather Ploughs, Patent Portable Smiths' Forges, Cart Arms, Boxes, Caps, &c., Grove Foundry, Guildford-street, Southwark.
JENKINS, W. S., Engraver and Printer, 52, Mansell-street-Goodmansfields.
JENKINSON, W., Saddler, Home & Export Harness and Saddle Manufacturer, 44, London Wall, City.
JERRAM, G. T., Soap Manufacturer, General Perfumery and Fancy Brush Warehouse, 69, Hatton-garden.
JOHNSON, H., Builder and Contractor, 46, Hatton-garden.
JONES, G., Diamond Worker and Jeweller, 20, Baker-street, Bagnigge Wells-road, Clerkenwell.
JONES, J. C. & Co., Manufacturers of Pianofortes expressly for Foreign Climates, &c., 21B, Soho-square.
JONES, ORLANDO & Co., the Original Patentees of Rice Starch, 15, College-street, Dowgate-hill.
JOWETT, J., Floor-cloth Manufacturer, Japanned folding Screens, Table Covers, Painted Cloths, &c., 532, New Oxford-street.
KAIN, J. J., Chemist and Druggist, Medicine Chests fitted for all Climates on the most reasonable terms, 9, Parker's-row, Bermondsey, opposite the Catholic Chapel.

KAY, J., Broker, 150, Fenchurch-street.

KELSEY, J., Builder, Contractor, Bricklayer, & Mason, Paradise-row, Rotherhithe.

KENNARD, A. W., Cork Manufacturer for Exportation, 117, Minories.

KENYON, T., Chemical Works, Newton Bank.

KENYON, T. & Co., Manufacturing Chemists, Newton Bank; Chemical Works, Miles Platting, near Manchester.

KIDSTON, W. & Co., Medical and General Shop Fixture and Glass Manufacturers, 18, Bishopsgate-st. Without.

KING, GEORGE, Real Manufacturer of Paint, Household, and Fancy Brushes, for Exportation, 116, Bunhill-row, Finsbury.

KITSON, ELY, Saddle, Harness, and Whip Manufacturer, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 154, Fenchurch-street.

KUMPF & ECKENSTEIN, General Merchants, 12, Mark-lane.

LAMB, J., Wholesale Looking-Glass Manufacturer for Home and Exportation, 59, Curtain-road, Shoreditch.

LAMBERT, T. & SON, Founders and Machinists, Manufacturers of Block Tin and Lead Pipe; Hydraulic, Steam and Gas Apparatus; Patentees of the Flexible Diaphragm Water Valves, Self-acting Water-closets, and Carter's Safety Gas Valves, Short-street, New-cut, Lambeth.

LAMBERT, J., Bed Pillar, Bedstead, Cornice and Cabinet Manufacturer, 17, Winchester-place, Southwark Bridge-road.

LAMPLOUGH, H., Retail and Shipping Chemist, sole Manufacturer of the Effervescing Pyretic Saline, 88, Snow-hill.

LANKSHEAR, T., Pocket Book Manufacturer, 18, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.

LANSDELL, T., Tailor, Clothier, and, Outfitter, 327, High Holborn.

LATHAM, J., Wholesale and Export Pianoforte Manufacturer, 28, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square.

LAUGHTON, J., Wholesale Export Boot and Shoe Manfr. and Warehouseman, 46, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields.

LAYTON, E., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, 121, St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and 18, Goulden-terrace, Islington.

LE CAPELEIN, STEELE, & Co., Chief Patent Office, 123, Chancery-lane; Branch Offices in the Chief Towns at home and on the Continent. Prospectuses gratis on Personal Application or by Letter.

LEE, T., Merchant and Manufacturer, 5, George-yard, Lombard-street, London, and Birmingham.

LEES & BARNES, Brass and Iron Founders, and Manufacturers of all descriptions of Power Looms, and Machinery in general, Soho Iron Works, Greenacres-moor, near Manchester.

LEFEBURE, T. P., Patentee of Boots and Shoes made by Steam, brass screws being used instead of stitches, 27, Cranbourn-street, Corner of St. Martin's-lane.

LEMON (BROS.), Coffee and Spice Merchants, 12, Clerkenwell-close.

LEONARD, T., Musical, Church, and Turret Clock Manufacturer, and Mechanician. Every description of Clocks and Machinery for Exportation, 50, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury-square.

LESLIE, DAVID, Home and Export Millinery, Manufacturer of Mourning Collars, Ladies and Gentlemen's Linen Collars, Ruche, Goffered Blonds, Baby Linen, &c., 11, Wood-street, Cheapside.

LESSWARE, H., Coppersmith, Brazier, and Worm Maker, 24, Great Alie-street, Whitechapel.

LEVESQUE, EDMEADES, & Co., Patent Pianoforte Makers. 40, Cheapside.

LEVICK, (Brothers), Merchants, 9, King's Arms-yard, Coleman-street.

LEVY, A., Merchant and Warehouseman, 103, Minories, and George-street, Sydney, New South Wales.

LEVY, B., Cosmocapelion Clothing Establishment, Tailor, Woollendraper, and Outfitter, 324 & 325, High Holborn.

LEVY, J., Wholesale and Export Stationer, Account Book and Envelope Manufacturer, 94, Houndsditch.

LIVERMORE & Co., Makers of the New Metallic Overcoats, Capes, &c., warranted perfectly free from smell, Waterproofers, and India Rubber Manufacturers, 30, Oxford-street.

LOADER, J., Export Upholsterer, 23, Pavement, Finsbury.

LOCK & Co., Dentists, guarantee to cure the Toothache instantly, by Smoke, 363, Oxford-street.

LOCKYER, J., Metal, Steel, Wire, and Tool Warehouse, 23, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.

LONG, JOSEPH, Hydrometer and Saccharometer Manufacturer, and Patentee of the Curvilinear Power, as adapted to Steering Apparatuses for ships of every tonnage, 20, Little Tower-street, City.

LORD, BROTHERS, General Machine Makers and Cotton Spinners, Canal-street Works, Todmorden.

LOUGH, LEWIS & Co., Gum, Drug, Drysaltery, and Colonial Merchants, 20A, Great St. Helen's.

McGLASHAN & FIELD, Manufacturers of every description of Machinery, Wholesale Brass Cock Foundery, Coppersmiths and Braziers, 16, Long-acre, and 19, Hart-street, Covent-garden.

MACKIE, J. V., Rusk and Biscuit Manufacturer to the Queen, 108, Princes-street, Edinburgh.

MAGNAY & BENNETT, Wholesale and Export Stationers, Thames-street.

MAGNUS, G. E., Inventor and Patentee of Enamelled Slate Chimney-pieces, Inlaid Table and Workstand Tops, Mural Tablets and Monuments, Patentee and Manufacturer to Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, &c., of Slate Billiard Tables, with Slate Frame and Legs, Vendor of every description of Slate, plain and ornamental, 39 and 40, Upper Belgrave-place, Pimlico.

MAGNUS, N., Wholesale and Export Boot, Shoe, and Leather Manufacturer, 13, Fore-street, Cripplegate.

MANDER, C., Electro-Plater & Gilder, 14, Queen-street, Clerkenwell.

MAGGS, OLIVER, & Co., Flax and Tow Spinners, Shoe Thread, Sail Cloth, Wool Bag, Sacking, and Twine Manufacturers, 22, Laurence-lane, Cheapside, and Bourton Factory, Wincanton, Somerset.

MANKTELOW & Co., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, 432, Oxford-street, and 12, Huntly-street, Bedford-square.

MAPLE, J., Wholesale and Retail Cabinet Manufacturer, and General House Furnishing Warehouseman, 145, 146, and 147, Tottenham-court-road.

MARR, W., Electro-Plater, 6, Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell.

MARKS, A., Wholesale and Export Spring, Folding, and Paris Hat Manufacturer, 5, Houndsditch.

MARSHALL & EDRIDGE, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 34, Fenchurch-street.

MARTEN, W., Wholesale Watch Manufacturer (for all Climates), successor to Cragg Smith and Charles Smith, and established upwards of 150 years, 20, Bunhill-row.

MARTIN, E., Boot, Shoe, and Golosh Maker, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 3, Church-st., Rotherhithe.

MARTIN, R., Cork Manufacturer, Importer of French and Spanish Corks, Corks in Bond for exportation, 20, Swan-st., Minories, and 16, John-st., Crutched-friars.

MASTERS, T., Patentee of the Freezing Machines and Wine Coolers, Aërated Water Machines, Rotary Knife-cleaning Machines, Anti-Corrosive Self-Closing Taps, Cooking Apparatus, &c., 309, Regent-st., and 333, Oxford-st.

MATTHEWS, S., (successor to Charles Mackintosh & Co., Patentees), India-rubber Waterproof Cloths of double and single texture, Air Cushions, Pillows, Beds, Boats, Baths, &c., 58, Charing-cross.

MATHEWS, I., Slipper Manufacturer, wholesale and for exportation, 4, Old Montague-st., Brick-ln., Whitechapel.

MAUDSLAY, SONS, & FIELD, Engineers, Cheltenham-place, Lambeth.

MAUGHFLING, J. S., Shipping Butcher, 14, New-road, St. George's-in-the-East.

MAYES, J., Clock Manufacturer and Dealer in Clock Tools and Materials, 19, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.

MAYHEW & Co., Hat and Cap Manufacturers, 89, New Bond-street, Manufactory, Union-street, Southwark.

MEASAM & Co., Medicated Cream Soap and Regenerative Carpet Soap Manufacturers, Patent Metal Seal Envelope, Note, and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers, 238, Strand, and 4, Castle-street, Holborn.

MEDHURST, T., Manufacturer of Patent Weighing Machines, Scales and Weights, Ironfounder, and Engineer, 465, New Oxford-street.

MEAD & POWELL, Wholesale and Export Stationers, and Account Book Manufacturers, 101, Whitechapel.

MEREDITH, T., Wholesale and Export Perfumer, 9, Little St. Thomas Apostle.

MEINIG, C., Importer and Manufacturer of fine Hones, genuine Turkey and other Oil Stones, Grindstones, &c., every description of Stones and Materials for grinding, sharpening, and polishing purposes, wholesale, retail, and export, 32, Southampton-street, Strand.

MERRICK, R., Dressing and Jewellery Case, Writing and Travelling Desk Manufacturer, 57, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.

METCALFE, BINGLEY, & Co., Brush and Comb Manufacturers and Sponge Merchants, by special appointment, to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 130, B, Oxford-street.

MIDDLEMASS, J., Home and Foreign Outfitter—sends Lists with Prices, free on application, 18, South Bridge, Edinburgh.

MIERS, S. L., Wholesale and Export Shoe and Stay Manufacturer, 81, Aldgate, opposite the Church.

MILLAR, D. C., & Co., Engineers, 7, Borough-road.

MILLARD, J., & SONS, Spectacle Makers and Opticians, 24, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell.

MILLIKIN, J., Manufacturer of Surgical Instruments to the Royal Navy and the King's College—every description of Bandage, Elastic Lacing Stockings, Knee Caps, Trusses, Crutches, &c., &c.—161A, Strand.

MILLS, J., Grand Pianoforte Manufacturer, 35, Cardington-street, Hampstead-road.

MINTER, G., Patentee and Manufacturer of the Self-acting, Reclining, and Elevating Chairs, the Archimedean Screw ditto, the Improved Rising and Elevating Screw Frame for Dr. Edge's Spinal and Fracture Couch, and every description of Out-door Garden Wheel Chair, 51, Frith-street, Soho.

MITCHELL, J., Steel Pen Manufacturer, 11, Queen-st., City.

MOORE, J., & SONS, Church, Turret, and House Clock Manufacturers, 38 and 39, Clerkenwell-close.

MORGAN, T., Wholesale Export and Furnishing Ironmonger, 11, Pancras-lane, City.

MOSES, H. E. & M., Wholesale and Export Merchants, and Clothing Manufacturers, and Agents for the sale of Colonial Produce, 87, Tower-hill, City.

MOSES, SON, & DAVIS, Merchants, Wholesale Clothiers, General Exporters, & Agents for the Sale of Colonial Produce, 14 & 15, Aldgate, High-street.

MOSS, B., & Co., East London Plate and Sheet-Glass Company, Wholesale Manufacturers and Exporters of Looking-Glasses, 45, Leman-street, Goodman's-fields.

MOUTRIE, W. F. C., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer on his Newly Registered Designs, 4, King-street, Bloomsbury.

MUNT, R., Coach Builder and Maker of Improved Easy Carriages for Invalids, Norwood, Surrey.

MYERS, JOSEPH, AND Co., Importers of French, German, Swiss, and Italian Manufactures, Toy Merchants, and General Factors, 144, Leadenhall-street.

NANNETTI, G., Statuary, and Artificial Stone Manufacturer and Moulder, 6, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin; and 18, York-street, Belfast.

NASH, T., Jun., Wholesale and Export Brush Manufacturer, Inventor and sole Manufacturer of the Registered Improved Painters' Brush, 19, Swan-street, Dover-road, Southwark.

NEAL, T., Steel Corn and Coffee Mill Maker, 45, St. John-street, Smithfield.

NEGRETTI, H. Manufacturer of Glass Chemical Apparatus, 11, Hatton-garden.

NEVETT, G., Pump, Water Closet, Cock, and Beer Engine Manufacturer, Gas Fitter, and General Brass Finisher, 10½, Hampstead-road.

NEWNHAM, H., Export Ship Biscuit and Bread Baker, 24, King-street, Tower-hill.

NEWING, T. R., Crown, Sheet, and Sheet Plate Glass Cutter, Pumps, Water-closets, Glass Tiles, Milk-pans, &c., Plumbers' Basins, Lead Pipes, &c., 129, Union-street, Borough.

NEWMAN, JAS., Artists' Colourman, Drawing Paper and Pencil Manufacturer; every article used by the amateur and professional artist of the first quality—24, Soho-square.

NEWTON, J. & G., Wholesale and Export Manufacturers of Enamelled Moleskin and Waterproof Coating, Grove-street, Walworth-common.

NEWTON, J., & SON, Wholesale and Export Cork Manufacturers, 50 and 51, St. John-street, Smithfield.

NICOLL, Court Hair Dresser, and Inventor of the Syrian Liquid Hair Dye, free from smell, warranted not to stain the skin, 2, Ryder's-court, Leicester-square.

NORTON, J., Ornamental Tea Canister, Box, Bowl, and Vase Manufacturer, 25, Vine-street, Hatton-wall.

NOSOTTI, C. A., Looking Glass Manufacturer and Interior Decorator, 388, Oxford-street.

NOTLEY, H., Brush Manufacturer, 12, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell.

NOWELL, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush and Painting-Brush Manufacturer, 7, Brick-lane, Whitechapel.

OETZMANN & PLUMB, Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, with Metallic Rest Plank, and other improvements, for extreme Climates, 56, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and Chenies-street, Bedford-square.

OLIVER, A., Watch Motion Maker, 11, Ironmonger-street, St. Luke's.

OLIVER & EDWARDS, Watch Case Manufacturers, 19, Galway-street, St. Luke's.

ORGAN, W., Wholesale Saddler, Stafford-street, Walsall.

OSBORN, Mr., Albion-school, York.

OVERALL, S., Fish Factor, &c., 102, Lower Thames-street.

OWEN, J., Wholesale and Export Trunk, Chest, Box, and Packing Case Manufacturer, 38, Minories.

OWST & Co., Wood-hoop Merchants and Coopers, near Mill-stairs, Bermondsey.

PAGE, THOMAS, Roway Iron Works, Westbromwich.

PAGET, R. G., Marquee and Tent Manufacturer, 40, West Smithfield.

PALMER, J., Plain and Ornamental Japanner, Ship's Stores Re-japanned, 13, Chamber-street, Goodman's-fields, Whitechapel.

PARKER, FIELD, & SONS, Gun Makers to the Board of Ordnance, the East India, and Hudson's Bay Companies, 233, High Holborn.

PARKER, R., Railway Contractor, Newchurch.

PARKINS, J., & Co., Cheapside Coat Depôt, 90, corner of Ironmonger-lane.

PARKINSON & FRODSHAM, Chronometer and Watch Makers, Exchange-alley, Cornhill.

PARNELL & BANNER, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 57, Gracechurch-street.

PASMORE, J., Draper, &c., Exeter.

PASTORELLI & Co., Wholesale and Export Opticians, 4, Cross-street, Hatton-garden.

PATON & NEILSON, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 9, Upper Charles-street, Northampton-square.

PATTEN, W. & Co., Window Glass, Sheet Lead, White Lead, Varnish & Colour Merchants, Old Fish st., Doctors' Commons; and 76, St. George-st., London Docks.

PAUL & Co., Real Soda Water, Lemonade, Potash Water, and Ginger Beer Makers, Importers of German and Struve's Brighton Seltzer Waters, 5, Bow-st., Covent-garden.

PAWSON, J. F., 9, St. Paul's Churchyard.

PEARS, A. & F., Soap Refiners, Inventors of the Transparent Soap, Manufacturing and Export Perfumers, 91, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

PEARTREE, J., Cap, Cap Trimming, and Patent Elastic Mourning Hatbands; Manufacturers and Importers of French Velvets, and Mohair Plushes, 5, St. Mary Axe.

PHILLIPS, P. S., Wholesale Sponge Dealer and Importer, 23, Wormwood-street, Bishopsgate.

PHILLIPS, L., Army and Navy Clothier, Hat, Cap, and Accoutrement Maker, Sword Cutler, Outfitter, Camp and Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, 28, Strand.

PHILLIPS, O., & Co., Colonial Brokers, 91, Great Tower-st.

PHILLIPS, W., Electro-Plater and Gilder, 17, Clerkenwell-green.

PHILLIPPS & GRAVES, Lightermen, Ship Brokers, and Custom House Agents, 11, Rood-lane.

PHIPPS, T., Saddler and Harness Manufacturer, 243, High Holborn.

PIGGOTT, W., Army Clothier and Marquee Manufacturer, &c., 115, Fore-street.

PIGGOTT, W. P., Patentee of the Galvanic Belt, by which a continuous current of electricity is made to circulate through the body, preventing rheumatism, sciatica, tic doloreux, hysterics, dyspepsia, and lowness of spirits; improved Telescope Office, 523, New Oxford-st.

PIPER, JNO., Wholesale Ironmonger, 47, Beech-st., Barbican.

PITMAN, W., Wine Merchant, 150, Fenchurch-street.

PITT, W., Wireworker, 15, Weymouth-place, New Kent-rd.

PIZZALA, A., Wholesale and Export Optician, 19, Hatton-Garden.

POCOCK, T., Leather Warehouses and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, 20, 21, 22, 23, Southwark-bridge-road.

POOLE, J., Chronometer Manufacturer and Inventor of an improved Compensation Balance, for equalizing the rates of Chronometers in the various changes of temperature, Wholesale and for Exportation, 1, Upper East Smithfield, and 31, Collet-place, Commercial-road East.

PORTER, JAMES, Sail Maker and Ship Chandler, Fountain Stairs, Bermondsey.

PORTER, R., Merchant, 22, East India Chambers.

**Poulton**, T. A., (late Webb) Wholesale China and Glass Warehouse, 1, Freeschool-street, Horselydown.

**Power**, D. E., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.

**Powis, James** & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Lock Manufacturers, and General Factors, 26, Watling-street, City.

**Preston** & **Son**, Saw, Plane, and General Mechanical Tool Makers; emigrants, shippers, and merchants supplied; 5, Borough-road.

**Prews**, B., Great Metropolitan Wardrobe, 295, High Holborn, and 36 and 37, High-street, Aldgate.

**Price**, C. W., Glass Bender, by appointment, to H.R.H. Prince Albert, Glass Stainer and Embosser, Manufacturer of Shades, Convex Glasses for Clocks, Figures, Barometers, &c., Railway Signal Glasses, Watch, Coloured Sheet, Ground, Dome, and Lotus Glasses, Lamp and Gas Chimneys of all kinds, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, 19 and 20, Clerkenwell-green.

**Prince** & **Whitehouse**, Ironfounders, Phœnix Ironfoundry, Grove, Great Guildford-st., Southwark.

**Price**, V., Sole Patentee, Inventor, and Manufacturer of the improved Knife and Fork Cleaning Machine, Washing, Ironing, and Mincing Machines, and a variety of other useful articles, 33, Wardour-street, Soho.

**Pryor**, S. & T., Umbrella Manufacturers, 43, Holborn-hill

**Quinton**, J., Carriage Builder for private use or Exportation, 1, Cottage-place, City-road.

**Quincey, Harcourt**, Birmingham and Sheffield Agent for all descriptions of Export Ironmongery; Agent for Timothy Smith and Sons, Birmingham, Cabinet Brass Founders and Manufacturers of Lamp Chandeliers and Gas Work; for Martineau and Smith, Birmingham, Manufacturers of Patent and other Cocks, Bells, &c.; also Agent for Patent Steaming Apparatus for extracting Tallow from Animal Carcases; Screw and Hydraulic Wool Presses, Wrought Iron Lighters and Boats, Sugar Mills, Saw Mills, &c., 82, Hatton-garden, London.

**Rand** & Co., Patent Collapsible Tube Manufacturers for Artists' Colours, 24a, Cardington-street, Hampstead-rd.

**Ratcliffe**, J., China, Glass, and Staffordshire Warehouse, shipping supplied on the lowest terms, 3, Heath-place, Commercial-road East.

**Read**, R., Instrument Maker, (by special appointment), to Her Majesty and the Hon. East India Company, Patentee of the Stomach Pump, Enema Fountain, &c., &c., 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.

**Read**, S., Account-book Manufacturer, Wholesale and Export Stationer, 95, London-wall.

**Reeves** & **Sons**, Artists Colour Manufacturers, Ornamental Stationers, Lead Pencil and Mathematical Drawing Instrument Makers, 113, Cheapside.

**Richardson** & Co., Patentees of Lockhead's Perforated Glass Scuttle for Ship Ventilation, and Perforated Glass Ventilators for Houses and other buildings, 35, Royal Exchange, and 473, New Oxford-street.

**Richardson**, E., Ship and Insurance Agent, East India Chambers.

**Richardson**, R., Portable House, Marquee, Rick Cloth, and Wire Fence Maker, 21, Tonbridge-place, New-road.

**Ridsdale**, J. & A., Ship's Brass Founders, General Manufacturers, Lamp Makers, and Gas Fitters, 54, Minories.

**Riley**, W. C., & Co., Provision Merchants and Dealers in Bonded Stores, 189, St. George's-st., St. George's, East.

**Rimmel**, E., Wholesale and Export Perfumer and Fine Soap Maker; the peculiar advantages resulting from having a Manufactory in France enable E. R. to supply Shippers in bond for Exportation, at one-half the London rates, 39, Gerrard-street, Soho.

**Ring** & **Conquest**, Tin, Iron, and Japan Ware Manufacturers, 22, Banner-street, St. Luke's.

**Ritchie** & **Bond**, Warehousemen, 61, St. Paul's Churchyard.

**Robson**, X. & J., Organ Builders to her Majesty, Apolloni-con Rooms, 101, St. Martin's Lane.

**Roberts**, J., Importer of Colonial Produce, 31, Barbican.

**Roberts's** Fashionable Tailoring, Clothing, and General Outfitting Mart, 65, Shoreditch, corner of Church-st.

**Robinson**, J., & Co., Outfitters, 3 and 6, Nassau-place, Commercial-road, East.

**Roddy**, R., Linen Manufacturer, Donegal-street, Belfast.

**Rogers**, D., Pianoforte Maker, Tuner, and Selecter, St. James's-place, Hampstead-road.

**Rogers**, H., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 63, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square.

**Rogers**, J. & **Son**, Patent Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plate, and all the Modern Improvements for extreme climates—Merchants and Shippers supplied—27, Southampton-mews, and 67, George-street, Euston-square.

**Rogers**, W. E., Wholesale and Export Tea and General Grocery Warehouse for Shippers, and Emigrants, Post-office, Dockhead, and at Islington and Clare Market.

**Ross** & **Sons**, Hair-cutters, Dyers, and Peruke Makers to the Royal Family.—Importers of all Foreign, and Manufacturers of English Perfumery, Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation.—119 & 120, Bishopsgate-street Within.

**Rossiter**, J., Wholesale Trunk, Portmanteau and Portable Cabin Furniture Manufacturer, Bullock and Overland Trunks for India, 15, Greville-street, Hatton-garden.

**Rosenthal**, L. J., Professor of Languages, near the Pantheon, 355, Oxford-st.

**Rowed**, R., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 1½, William-street, Hampstead-road.

**Roxbrough**, W. (Established 1730), Shipping and General Stationer, Manufacturer of Patent Ledgers, and other Account-books, 9, Aldgate, City.

**Royal Letters Patent Office**, (Hours from 10 to 4,) the Official Prospectus forwarded on application to Mr. Weatherdon, 77, Chancery-lane.

**Rumney**, R., Manufacturing Chemist, Ardwick, Manchester.

**Russell**, J. & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Gas Tubes and Fittings, and Lapwelded Tubes for Locomotive and Marine Boilers, also Manufacturers of Sheet Iron, 69, Upper Thames-st.; Works at Wednesbury, Staffordshire.

**Samuel**, H. S., Colonial Broker, 133, Fenchurch-street.

**Sanders**, C., Gold Refiner, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.

**Sanders**, G. B., Glass and China Warehouse; a choice of Several Hundred Patterns of Dinner, Dessert, Breakfast, and Tea Services; a large Stock kept on hand for the purpose of matching. Stourbridge Table Glass, richly or plainly cut Glass Lustres, Chandeliers, Lanterns, Tea-trays, &c., 319, High Holborn, opposite Gray's Inn.

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**Satchell**, T., Export Hat Manufacturer, 158, Fenchurch-street.

**Saunders**, G., Inventor of the Metallic Four-sided Tablet and Razor Strop, and recommended by the first cutlers. Gentlemen invited to bring a razor and see the effect. Depôt, 278, Strand.

**Sandeman**, A., East India Agent, 8, Old Jewry, Cheapside.

**Scott**, J., Mathematical and Nautical Instrument Maker, 17, Bermondsey-wall, opposite Fountain Dock.

**Scott**, P., Outfitter of every description of Dress suitable for India, China, Australia, Port Natal, New Zealand, &c., ready made or to order, 9, South Bridge, Edinburgh.

**Scott**, W., Gun & Pistol Maker, 33, Leman-st. Whitechapel.

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Of the style of the history we are able to speak with much satisfaction; it is effective and graphic. The first number, which includes the early history of Scotland, is given with great perspicuity and care; the want of regular historic records is supplied as far as it can be supplied by reference to facts collected from Roman and other early writers. The Ballads of Scotland furnish some curious illustrations of ancient Scottish History, the extracts from which, in the shape of notes, form no small portion of the value of the work before us. The embellishments include portraits of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, and Henry Stuart, Earl Darnley, king of Scotland, a vignette title and a map of Scotland, all executed upon steel, in the fist style of modern art.—*Devonshire Chronicle.*

The enterprising publishers of this work have already produced imperial histories of *England, Ireland, America, The British Colonies,* and *The World,* which, for historical research, impartial narrative, and accurate detail, can scarcely be equalled by any extant; and which have been welcomed by the reading world as supplying a desideratum universally felt. In order to complete the series of national works, they have determined to issue a History of Scotland, in the production of which no expense will be spared to render it as perfect as the others. The talents of the well-known and popular writer of *The History of Ireland,* a work which has met with the most signal success, have been secured for the undertaking.—*Lynn Advertiser.*

The author has attainments well suited for the purpose, and he pledges himself fairly to investigate the truth, and to use every effort to obtain authentic information, by consulting the original documents of Scottish history &c. The work is beautifully produced in royal octavo, finely printed, and richly embellished with portraits, maps, &c.—*Plymouth Herald.*

Of Scotland no popular history has hitherto appeared, although the important events of which that country has been the scene, must have long rendered a work like the present a desideratum. Mr. Wright, whose antiquarian and historical researches have earned for him a high literary reputation, and who, as the historian of Ireland, has made a valuable addition to our national annals, in the present work, has ably manifested his skill in historical narrative. The style is clear and animated, and the interest awakened of a continuous character.—*The Ratepayer.*

This is the commencement of a new work, uniform with histories of other countries which have issued from these distinguished publishers. It is excellently printed, and admirably illustrated. The names of the author and of the publishers fully guarantee the completion of a work which, at its close, will be found a very valuable addition to any library.—*Notts Guardian.*

To our own national records it constitutes a necessary supplement, and no one can be said to have even a concise idea of English history without some acquaintance with the earlier details of the sister kingdom. The work before us is calculated to supply the deficiency thus complained of; and promises, both in style of composition and mechanical excellence of execution, to do credit to its spirited projectors.—*Poole Herald.*

It will deserve a place in every historical library. The portraits and maps are admirably executed; and the printing is in the best style of that art.—*Kentish Gazette.*

The portraits and maps in this History are capitally got up; and it is valuable as a book in appearance, as it is from its merits.—*North Wales Chronicle.*

This new History of Scotland, from the superior way in which it is brought out, and from its cheapness, deserves success.—*Gloucestershire Chronicle.*

We have carefully examined the first part of this important and popular history, and though we have had no time to compare it with previously existing histories, further than we are enabled to do by means of the great general facts fixed in our memory, we are fully satisfied of the correctness, fidelity, and impartiality, of the narrative. The paper and type leave nothing to be desired by the most fastidious taste; the embellishments are splendid, the narrative is succinct yet comprehensive, and the style is easy and popular. We are satisfied that this elegant work will prove worthy of far more than its money price, and we cordially recommend it to our readers.—*Christian News.*

Judging by the part before us, the history will be carried out upon a scale commensurate with its importance; and not only will the work prove a useful text-book for Scottish writers and commentators, but it will form an elegant and necessary appendage to a useful library.—*Stamford Mercury.*

A popular history of Scotland, from the earliest period up to the present time. It is printed on superfine imperial paper, and embellished with handsome engravings and maps. Mr. Wright is well practised at the pen, and we doubt not he will produce a good compilation for general reading.—*Cambridge Chronicle.*

The commencement of a work which promises to be a standard historical authority. It is very neatly got up, witn engravings, map, &c.—*Freeman's Exeter Flying Post.*

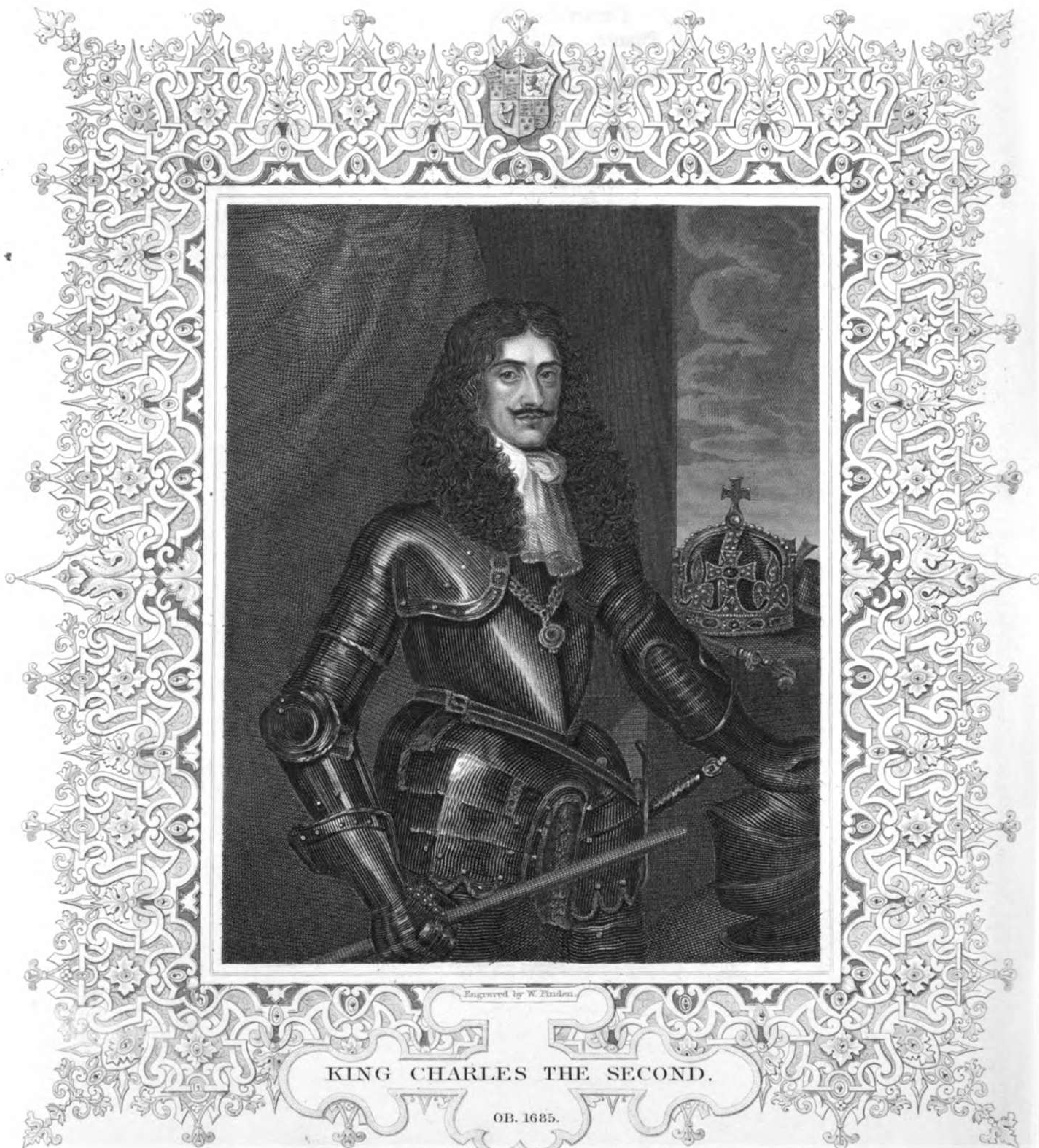
The imperial History of Scotland abundantly justifies the bold challenge which, with somewhat of American character, the publishers throw out to the world to produce its equal. The style in which all Messrs. Tallis's works are produced speaks highly of their liberal spirit, but the present work reflects upon them especial credit. It is printed in a beautifully large and clear type, with bordered pages, and is illustrated with a valuable map, and very fine portraits; whilst on the written matter Mr. Wright's name is a sufficient guarantee of excellence. This will be *the* History of Scotland, *par excellence.*—*Sherborne and Dorchester Journal.*

It is clearly and concisely written, is beautifully printed, and embellished with splendid engravings and maps.—*Derbyshire Courier.*

The History of Scotland cannot fail to be interesting or instructive, and in the hands of so able and practised a writer as Mr. Wright, it will not fail to have both these elements in a high degree. It is carefully compiled and written, beautifully illustrated by portraits and a map—very gems of the art of engraving—printed in clear bold type, on excellent paper, and altogether neatly got out. We trust the publishers may find the issue of this History as remunerative as it is excellent in quality, and we shall watch its progress with interest and pleasure.—*West of England Conservative.*

We have only to add our opinion, that such a work as this is likely to be extensively read and studied. It is well printed, and the portraits and illustrations are executed in the first style of art. The work is alike cheap, beautiful, and interesting. Indeed it may claim a high degree of merit as a valuable and authentic record.—*Whitehaven Herald.*

We would observe that this history promises to be, in several respects, *sui generis.* The "getting-up" is highly creditable to the publishers, both as respects typography and pictorial illustration.—*Bradford Observer.*




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JOHN TALLIS & COMPANY, LONDON & NEW YORK.



LUCIUS CAREY, V[illegible]NT FALKLAND.

OB 16[illegible]

[illegible] OF VANDYKE [illegible]

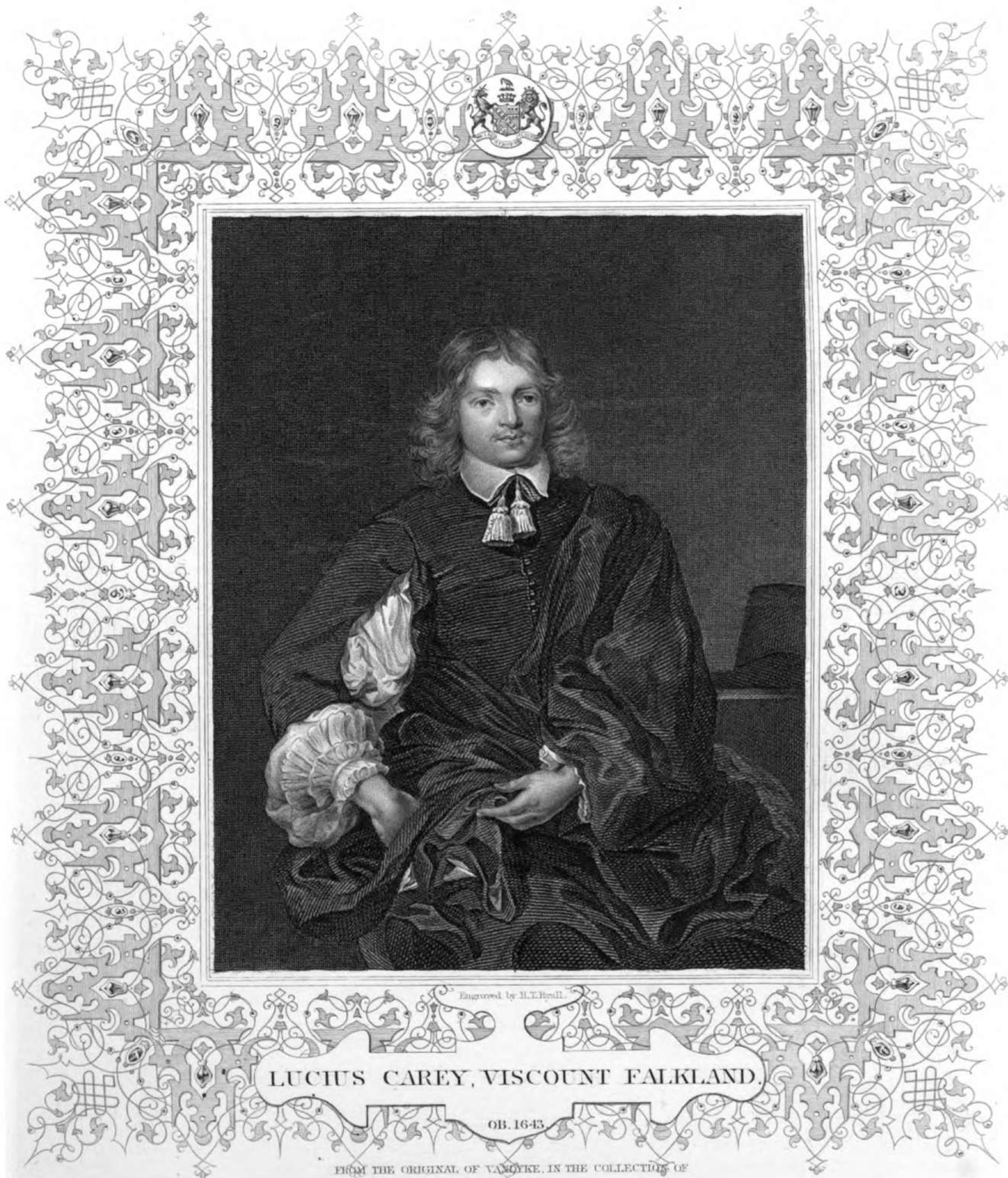
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# STERN
# ISPHERE

North Pole
GREENLAND
BAFFIN'S BAY
Davis Str.
Hudson's Str.
HUDSON'S BAY
LABRADOR
ICELAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
NORTH AMERICA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Nova Scotia
New York
Philadelphia
Boston
Azores
Bermudas
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
WEST INDIES
Cuba
Jamaica
Hayti
CARIBBEAN SEA
Cape Verd Is.
Galapagos
COLUMBIA
GUYANA
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
Tropic of Capricorn
PACIFIC
Juan Fernandez
Valparaiso
Santiago
Rio de la Plata
PATAGONIA
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Falkland Is.
C. Horn
Sth Georgia
Sandwich Land
South Shetland Is.
Graham Land
Antarctic Circle
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
South Pole





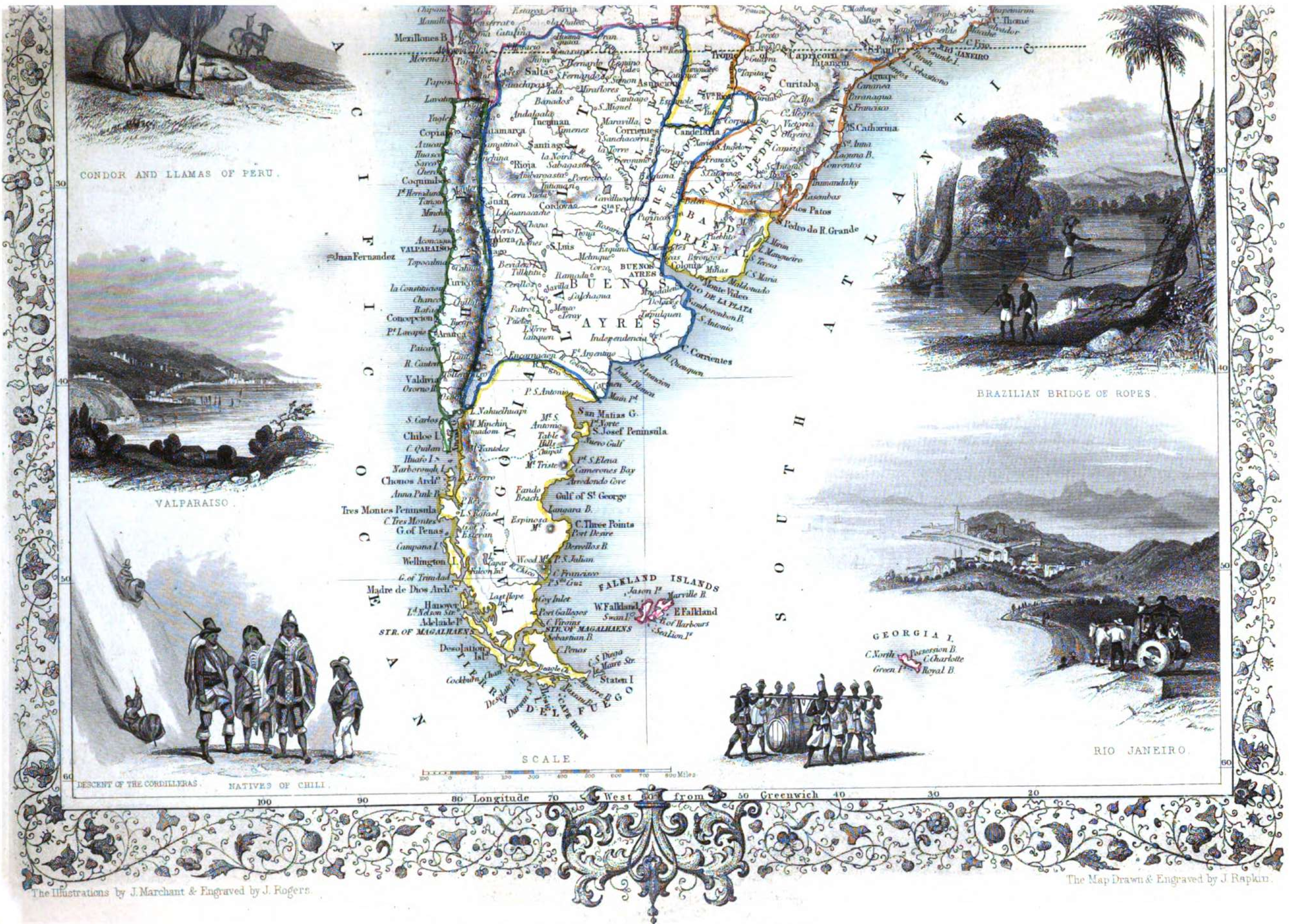




MPANY, LONDON & NEW YORK

The Map, Drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin


SOUTH AMERICA.
CARIBBEAN SEA
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Equator
GOLD WASHING IN BRAZIL.
GUATIMALA
JAMAICA
HAITI
NEW GRANADA
VENEZUELA
ECUADOR
NORTH PERU
SOUTH PERU
BOLIVIA
BRAZIL
PARA
MATTO GROSSO
PERNAMBUCO
SPANISH GUAYANA
BRITISH GUAYANA
DUTCH GUAYANA
FRENCH GUAYANA
PORTUGUESE GUAYANA
RIVER AMAZON
PANAMA BAY
DARIEN G.
Trinidad
Barbados
Martinique
Guadaloupe
Barbuda
Grenada
Tobago
Margarita
Curacao
Caracas
Cumana
Maracaybo
Cartagena
Panama
Quito
Guayaquil
Lima
Cuzco
La Paz
Cochabamba
Potosi
Santarem
Para
Bahia
Pernambuco or Recife
C. St. Roque
Natal
Parahyba
Maranhao
Olinda
Porto Seguro


PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC
SOUTH ATLANTIC
BUENOS AYRES
PATAGONIA
BANDA ORIENTAL
FALKLAND ISLANDS
W. Falkland
E. Falkland
GEORGIA I.
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
CAPE HORN
STR. OF MAGALHAENS
Juan Fernandez
VALPARAISO
RIO DE LA PLATA
Monte Video
C. Corrientes
Tropic of Capricorn
RIO JANEIRO
CONDOR AND LLAMAS OF PERU.
VALPARAISO.
DESCENT OF THE CORDILLERAS.
NATIVES OF CHILI.
BRAZILIAN BRIDGE OF ROPES.
RIO JANEIRO.
SCALE
Miles
Longitude West from Greenwich
The Illustrations by J. Marchant & Engraved by J. Rogers.
The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin.

# FALKLAND ISLANDS AND PATAGONIA

JASON ISLANDS

PENGUINS


SEA EAGLES

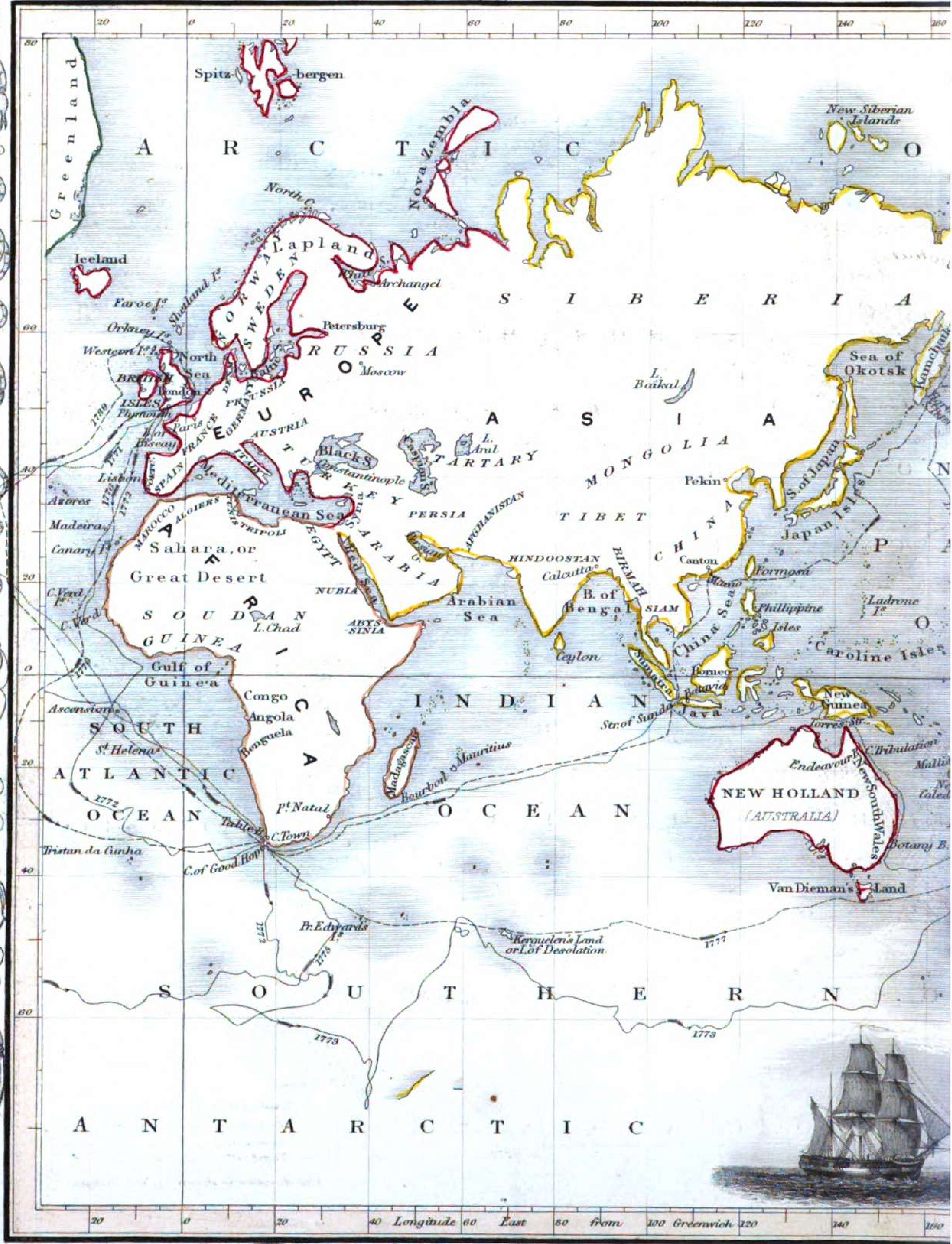
SCALE

5 10 20 30 Miles

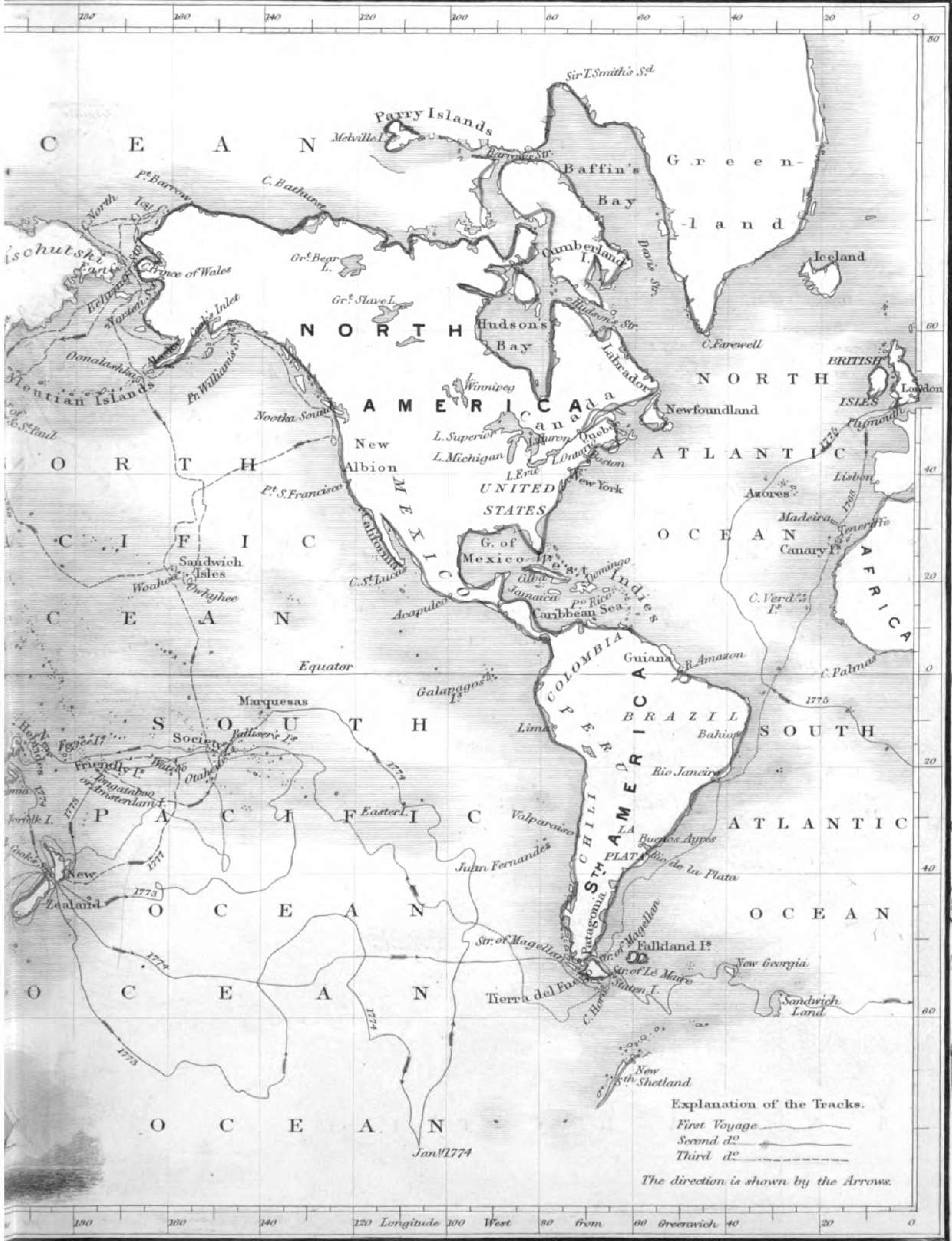
Jason Islands
Steeple Jason
Grd. Jason
Flat Jason
Elephant Jason
South Jason
Twins
Carcass I.
Westpoint I.
Hope Har.
Byron Heights
Port North
Byron Sound
Keppel I.
Keppel Sd.
Pebble Is.
Pebble So.
Port Egmont
Saunders I.
KING GEORGE BAY
Passage Isls.
QN. CHARLOTTE BAY
WEDDELL I.
Smylie Chan.
New I.
Beaver I.
Port Richards
Port Stephens
Port Albemarle
P. Edgar
Fox B.
P. Philomel
M. Adam
Hornby Hills
WEST FALKLAND
FALKLAND SOUND
EAST FALKLAND
Speedwell I.
George I.
Barren I.
EAGLE PASSAGE
BAY OF HARBOURS
ADVENTURE SOUND
Sea Lion Is.
Bleaker I.
Lively Sound
Lively I.
Useless B.
CHOISEUL SOUND
Port Pleasant
Port Fitz Roy
Port Harriet
Stanley Har.
Wickham Heights
Brenton Loch
Grantham Sound
P. San Carlos
Foul B.
C. Dolphin
C. Bougainville
PORT SALVADOR
BERKELEY SOUND
Port Louis
M. Brisbane
Eddystone Rk.

61 60 59 58 52 51


PATAGONIA
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Inhabited by wandering Tribes of Indians
Te-huel-het or Southern People
Puel-che or Eastern People
Chuillon Indians
Moluche Indians
GULF OF SAN MATTIAS
GULF OF St. GEORGE
STRAIT OF MAGALHAENS
EASTERN TIERRA DEL FUEGO OR KING CHARLES' SOUTH LAND
WELLINGTON I.
CHILOE I.
Chonos Arch.
Peninsula of Tres Montes
G. OF PENAS
HANOVER I.
ADELAIDE I.
Land of Desolation
Clarence I.
Dawson I.
Hoste I.
Wollaston I.
Cape Horn
Staten I.
Sebastian B.
Port Sta. Cruz
Port Gallegos
C. Virgins
Port Desire
C. Three Points
Camarones B.
Nuevo Gulf
St. Blas B.
Valdivia
W. Falk Land I.
FUGEANS
CHRISTMAS SOUND, TIERRA DEL FUEGO
SCALE
Illustrations by H. Winkles, & Engraved by W. Lacey
The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin


THE W
MERCATOR'S
SHEWING THE
CAPTAIN COOK R
Spitz-bergen
Greenland
Nova Zembla
New Siberian Islands
ARCTIC O
North C.
Iceland
Lapland
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Archangel
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Western Is.
North Sea
BRITISH ISLES
London
Plymouth
Petersburg
RUSSIA
Moscow
SIBERIA
EUROPE
PRUSSIA
GERMANY
Paris
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
B. of Biscay
SPAIN
Lisbon
ITALY
TURKEY
Black S.
Constantinople
Caspian S.
L. Aral
TARTARY
ASIA
L. Baikal
MONGOLIA
Sea of Okotsk
Kamchatka
Pekin
S. of Japan
Japan Isles
Azores
Madeira
Canary Is.
MAROCCO
ALGIERS
TRIPOLI
Mediterranean Sea
EGYPT
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
TIBET
CHINA
Canton
Formosa
AFRICA
Sahara, or Great Desert
ARABIA
Red Sea
HINDOOSTAN
Calcutta
BIRMAH
NUBIA
Arabian Sea
B. of Bengal
SIAM
China Sea
Phillippine Isles
Ladrone Is.
C. Verd Is.
C. Verd
SOUDAN
L. Chad
ABYSSINIA
GUINEA
Ceylon
Caroline Isles
Gulf of Guinea
Sumatra
Borneo
Batavia
Java
New Guinea
Str. of Sunda
Ascension
Congo
Angola
Benguela
INDIAN
Torres Str.
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
St. Helena
Madagascar
Mauritius
Bourbon
C. Tribulation
Endeavour R.
New South Wales
NEW HOLLAND (AUSTRALIA)
Pt. Natal
OCEAN
Table B.
C. Town
Tristan da Cunha
C. of Good Hope
Botany B.
Van Dieman's Land
Pr. Edwards Is.
Kerguelen's Land or I. of Desolation
SOUTHERN
ANTARCTIC
Longitude East from Greenwich

VORLD
PROJECTION
VOYAGES OF
OUND THE WORLD.



ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FITZ-ROY.—When the intelligence of the death of Captain Hobson reached England, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, offered the vacant governorship to Captain Fitz-Roy, R. N., who had then newly completed an interesting *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle, between the years* 1826 *and* 1836, *in the Southern Hemisphere.*

Towards the close of this expedition, of which for the greater part of the time he had held the command, Captain Fitz-Roy visited New Zealand, and on his return home, in the volumes referred to, and in his evidence before the select committee of the Lords in 1838, had evinced considerable acquaintance with its actual state, and ably expressed his opinions on the character and capabilities of the aborigines. Captain Fitz-Roy accepted the appointment, although it involved the resignation of his seat in Parliament (for the city of Durham), and of his honourable and lucrative position as an elder Brother of the Trinity-house, and as Conservator of the Mersey, in exchange for a most arduous, and (then) scantily remunerated office at the antipodes. The conscientious motives which actuated him were evident, and all really interested in the welfare of the colony, especially the Church and Wesleyan Mission Societies, rejoiced in the appointment of a governor, whose personal character and station in society peculiarly fitted him to stand in the breach between the two races, as a successful mediator. Neither Captain Fitz-Roy, however, or any other individual in this country, and few even in New Zealand, could then form an adequate idea of the difficulties which awaited him, and which had rapidly augmented in the few months immediately succeeding the death of Captain Hobson.

In the first place the ill feeling between the Europeans and the Maories, was becoming daily more evident; both parties were brave, and in too many instances inclined to settle their disputes by the trial of battle, the former especially from having formed a very false estimate of the courage of the natives, who *as heathens* are essentially warlike, but *as Christians* exhibit a practical conformity with the peaceful doctrines of the gospel, which communities far more advanced in the arts and sciences of civilized life would do well to imitate. The proportion of real converts to our holy faith, was, it is true, in New Zealand as elsewhere, very inferior to that of merely nominal ones, but still this influence had no small share in inducing their countrymen not to commence hostilities with the *Pakeha* (strangers), who had encroached on their territories, but to abide the decision of the land commissioner. This was in itself a great point gained, considering the overwhelming superiority which more than one hundred thousand natives, *supplied by Christian colonists with fire-arms and gunpowder in abundance,* and with fortified pahs and mountain fastnesses to resort to, in time of need, could not but have over a few thousand Europeans, residing in widely scattered settlements, possessed of nothing deserving the name of military defences, and with women and children to protect.

Yet though remaining passive, the natives watched with no unreasonable alarm, the arrival of ship after ship full of emigrants, and openly avowed their fear that the settlers were only waiting for a sufficient increase of numbers and force, to appropriate their lands, and reduce them to the condition of slaves. A very high tribute to their conduct during the trying period of the investigation of the land claims was given by the commissioners who assisted Mr. Spain (Colonel Godfrey, and Captain Richmond) who when officially asked by the acting governor (on the 4th May, 1843,) whether the conduct of the natives in the investigation of the land claims had not caused a great alienation of feeling between the parties? and whether a disposition had not in some cases been manifested to get returned to them lands which they had formerly sold? informed him in reply, that they had then examined more than half of all the claims, yet had never remarked such a consequence in any of their investigations. In some instances, boundaries had been inserted by the purchasers, *after* the signature of the deeds by the natives; then the latter, while admitting that some of the land mentioned had been sold, boldly denied, and with apparent truth, the extent alleged to have been alienated, and willingly pointed out to the surveyors the lands actually sold. Even the natives more than ordinarily dissipated, and corrupted by habits of intoxication, never, say these witnesses, "made any unjust attempts to repossess themselves of their lands." Except on most rare occasions, "when the morality of the buyers appeared quite as questionable as that of the sellers," the commissioners could "scarcely recal

to mind a single investigation in which the testimony given by the natives was not deserving of the most entire credibility."*

The English on their part, misunderstanding the cause of the forbearance of the natives, behaved most unwisely, evincing a diminishing regard for the rights, and for the feelings of the chiefs, excluding them as much as possible from their dwellings, instead of welcoming them as at first, and threatening them on trifling occasions with the penalties of British law; while some designing or imprudent persons told them that they were now the slaves of Queen Victoria, who had the entire control of their country, and of themselves, adducing in proof that they were no longer permitted even to dispose of their own land.

A high spirited race, democratic in the extreme, as regarded others, but equally aristocratic in respect to their own rights and dignities, keenly felt and warmly resented these taunts; they found they were indeed no longer the principal personages in their own country; they saw the land which they had parted with for a trifling consideration (long since consumed), resold for perhaps twenty or thirty times the value they had received; fences were rising in every direction, by which they were prevented freely traversing the country as heretofore, and more than all, when they offered some of their lands to the governor for sale, they were informed that he could not buy (not having the necessary funds), and that they must not sell to any one else.

The colonists themselves were divided into three distinct and antagonistic classes, —first, the independent settlers at Auckland and elsewhere, who felt aggrieved by the concession of their just and prior claims made by Governor Hobson and Lieutenant Shortland to Colonel Wakefield; second, the population of the New Zealand Company's settlements, who were living in a state of open hostility to the local government, and were besides (not without excuse), jealous beyond measure of one another—the Wellington, of the Nelson people—the Wangani adventurers, of their brethren at Porirua, and so on; the third class consisted of whalers living in widely scattered stations along the coast-line of the three islands, some of whom had married native women, and were earning an honest livelihood; but the greater portion were escaped convicts or runaway sailors, leading lawless and immoral lives, and neglecting no opportunity of prejudicing the minds of the heathen chiefs against any and every form of government calculated to restrain their excesses.

The proceedings of the Company, in repudiating the arbitration of the land commissioner so soon as they found it unfavourable to themselves, notwithstanding their voluntary and public promise to abide by it; their refusal (made through their authorised agent,) to compensate the natives or previous purchasers, in violation of the condition on which alone they had been suffered to hold any portion of the lands in dispute;† and their strenuous endeavours to induce the government to set aside the treaty of Waitangi—placed great difficulties in the path of the representative of the Crown. The missionaries, on their part, beheld the new position assumed by the Company, with alarm and indignation. They steadily refused to countenance any

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 334.

† Mr. Commissioner Spain says that Colonel Wakefield's conduct in this matter, produced in his mind " the inevitable conclusion, that on no future occasion would it be safe for the government to enter into any similar negotiation with the principal agent of the Company, who could so far overlook his own moral and legal obligations, in a case at once involving the just pretensions of the aborigines, the ruin or prosperity of a large and respectable body of enterprising settlers, and the good faith and substantial interests of the Company—his employers."—(Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 305.) Among the settlers generally, whether sent out by, or independent of the Company, a strong feeling of indignation appears to have been excited by Colonel Wakefield's proceedings (see Appendix to Report of Select Committee for 1844, p. 231); and an able local historian, Dr. S. M. D. Martin (subsequently a member of the Legislative Council of New Zealand), comments severely upon them; placing, however, the blame far too exclusively on the agent, who, there is reason to believe, strictly adhered to the orders he received from England. After alluding to the " mess" which Colonel Wakefield " had made of the Company's affairs at Wellington," Dr. Martin observes, " it appears to me, that what is called *a cunning man*, is never fit to manage affairs properly for another party, because he invariably keeps them in the dark regarding his operations; and such, I am certain, has been the case with the agent of the New Zealand Company. Had he honestly informed them of the facts of the case regarding his *pretended purchase at Port Nicholson*, matters might have been rectified long before now. As it is, this vainly-wise man has ruined both the Company and the private individuals who were unfortunate enough to purchase their lands."—*New Zealand, with Historical Remarks, &c.*, London, 1845, p. 160.

infraction of the treaty, the letter and spirit of which, they considered, alike vested the proprietary right to the whole of New Zealand, in the natives, and declared, that on that understanding only, they had assisted Captain Hobson in obtaining the consent of the chiefs, who could not have been induced to sign it upon any other condition.

Another cause of embarrassment, which embittered and aggravated every other, was the financial distress of the colony; the land-fever had subsided, and the torpor of reaction had taken its place. The brisk trade for pigs, potatoes, and native labour, which on the first arrival of the emigrants was so lucrative, had, to a great extent, ceased, partly by reason of the mercantile pressure, and partly from the absence of an adequate monetary circulation.

The delusive hopes which the colonists entertained on their arrival, of being able at once to become exporters, had been soon dispelled; a very short time having sufficed to show that there was, at that time, no article of export in New Zealand, which could be depended upon to procure the balance of trade necessary to the success of a commercial community. Timber, flax, and oil, were the three articles on which the most sanguine expectations had been founded. With regard to the first, they were rendered nugatory by the great expense of bringing it to the water-side, added to that of shipping it to a distance of 14,000 miles, and further by the fact of large and sound spars being comparatively scarce.* The shipment of a different description of wood, at that period, was quite out of the question, the price of sawn timber in New Zealand itself, in 1841–2, being 32*s*. per 100 feet; and the importation of planks from Europe having met with success.

The export of flax prepared by the natives had dwindled away almost to nothing, as their increased intercourse with Europeans had enabled them, by a slight degree of agricultural labour, to obtain all the commodities they required. The abundance of this valuable plant was, therefore, of little benefit to the colonists, who had vainly sought to discover a cheap mode of dressing it.

The export of oil had proved equally unsatisfactory, for from the ruthless and improvident manner in which the whale-fisheries had been conducted during a series of years, without regard to the preservation of the dams or their young, during the calving season, a profitable and important trade had been well-nigh destroyed.

It had been confidently assumed that the ships of the several nations engaged in the whaling trade, would resort to New Zealand for refitting, as being the centre of the southern whale-fishery; instead of which, on its becoming a British colony the whalers deserted it, and went to Otaheite, or some other of the Polynesian Islands, where they could obtain supplies at a cheaper rate, without the intervention of Custom-house regulation or fiscal dues.

Before leaving England, Captain Fitz-Roy solicited from Lord Stanley special instructions on certain points regarding the land question, of which the first was—to whom should land belong which had been validly purchased from New Zealand aboriginals in excess of the quantity (2,560 acres) prescribed by the land ordinance of 1841? His lordship replied, the excess was "vested in the sovereign, as representing and protecting the interests of society at large." In other words such lands would become available for the purpose of sale and settlement.

This decision caused great dissatisfaction in New Zealand, where the prerogative of the crown in annulling all purchases made by its subjects without its consent, was very imperfectly understood. Yet the hardship, as far as the buyers were concerned, was greater in seeming than reality, when the extremely low price at which most of the purchases had been effected is taken into consideration, and also the liberal scale on which all just claims were to be confirmed, in the proportion of an acre for every crown expended in colonizing. Besides which, the lands held under the award of the land commission, were enhanced in value by the appropriation of the surplus by the sovereign as trustee for the public to redispose of them, or render them available for purposes of general utility; and yet more by the guarantee for the security of life and property afforded by the presence of British authority.† With respect to the sellers, the question arises whether a conside-

* The Cowrie or Kauri timber is not found farther south than the districts of Auckland and Manakao.

† See *New Zealand Question*, by L. A. Chamerovzow, Secretary to the Aborigines Protection Society, pp. 291, 292.

rable and defined portion of the surplus of the land commissioners' award ought not to have immediately reverted to them as having been parted with under a misapprehension of its value, or have been appropriated in some special manner for their sole use and benefit.

The next inquiry was—"Under defined restrictions, may the Crown's right of preemption be waived in certain cases? Lord Stanley declined giving an answer until he should receive a local report from Captain Fitz-Roy, accompanied by such suggestions on the subject as, after inquiry on the spot, he should deem it expedient to make. In offering these suggestions, two points were to be particularly kept in view, viz., the prevention of land coming into the possession of Europeans at a cheaper rate if bought from the natives than if bought from government, and the ensuring a contribution on such purchases being made from the purchaser to the emigration fund."*

The information and instructions given for the guidance of Captain Fitz-Roy in his dealings with the New Zealand Company and their agents was to the effect, that the government would confirm their title to as many acres as they had expended crowns in purchase, emigration, &c., provided they proved the validity of their purchase; and to facilitate the adjustment of their titles, a *primâ facie* title to the district included in the original agreement, was conceded to them under the condition that the validity of their purchase should not be successfully impugned by other parties. The Company were to be allowed to take land without the districts claimed by them in exchange for an equal quantity of land claimed by them within those districts, provided that their purchase should be satisfactorily proved.

Lastly, Captain Fitz-Roy was assured that there was no reason for saying that any specified quantity of land was due to the Company from the government (unless under direct purchases from itself), or that the government was bound to make compensation to the Company for its expenditure.†

Thus the grant from the Queen depended in the first instance on the extinguishment of native or other proprietary rights by Colonel Wakefield. How could it be otherwise, since even supposing the government to have been disposed to bestow on the Company, in return for systematic insult and wilful misrepresentation towards itself, and deception and charlatanism towards the public, a free grant of about a million acres, it had not the power to do so, without first purchasing them from the native or other proprietors.‡

If the loudly vaunted validity and liberality of the purchases of their agent, which had received the unqualified approbation of the directors, conveyed in the substantial form of a present of a thousand guineas and an increase of salary, should on investigation prove worthless, by whom was the penalty to be borne? Were the taxes of the people of England to be augmented because a body of individuals associated for a "purely commercial speculation," had overreached themselves? or were the natives of New Zealand to be defrauded under the pretence of being protected by an unrighteous administration of the laws, under whose jurisdiction they had freely placed themselves.

The latter was the mode of procedure avowedly anticipated by the Company, whose expectations were completely disappointed by the searching investigation instituted by the land commissioner into the grounds of their so-called purchases. On receipt of this intelligence the directors, as we have

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, page 188.

† Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844, page 106.

‡ "The mode in which it was intended that the local government should procure land with a view to reselling it, is stated in Lord Normanby's letter of August, 1839—'The resales of the first purchases that may be made will provide the funds necessary for future acquisitions, and beyond the original investment of a comparatively small sum of money, no other resources will be necessary for this purpose.' To suppose that Lord John Russell intended to grant to the Company for nothing, nearly a million of acres so acquired, is obviously incompatible with the very fundamental principle of such a system; to suppose that he intended to apply either to parliament or to the local legislature for a grant to enable him to make a special purchase for the benefit of the Company, is to hazard a supposition for which not the slightest ground of probability can be shown. But neither will the letter of the arrangement itself bear out any such construction."—See *Memorandum* on the twelfth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company in refutation of the assertion of the directors, that "the flagrant character of the wrong done to their shareholders by Lord Stanley's interpretation of Lord John Russell's agreement virtually annuls that contract between the Crown and a body of her Majesty's subjects."—Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844, p. 1.

seen, immediately assumed a new position, by endeavouring to place upon the agreement of 1840 a construction which up to that time they had never even hinted at,* and which was at once declared by the government to be wholly unwarranted. (See page 191, div. v.)

Yet they persevered with their accustomed tenacity, in maintaining the view of the case which favoured their interests; although contrary to truth and common sense. Laying aside the statements and the arguments they had formerly used, they adopted with marvellous facility, directly contrary ones. For instance, in the earlier stages of their proceedings, they had been among the strongest advocates for the national authority and individual rights of the Maories to the proprietorship of the whole soil of the three islands; their reports, books, and newspapers had teemed with eulogy of the natives, whose amalgamation with the Europeans by marriage was urged as probable and desirable, while their shrewdness and capacity for understanding and entering into engagements or contracts was highly lauded. Hence, when Colonel Wakefield first landed at Port Nicholson, he hoisted the *national* flag of New Zealand, and his three contracts made the 27th of September, 25th of October, and 8th November, 1839, for the purchase of "about twenty million acres" were written with all the formality of a legal conveyance. But when the directors found that Lord John Russell refused to acquiesce in the "claim advanced by the Company to have acquired from the natives a title to *one-third* of the whole territory of New Zealand;"† and that those natives, whose shrewdness and sagacity they had so highly lauded, were on their part determined to maintain and defend their possessory rights to the soil, by means of the muskets and gunpowder with which they had themselves furnished them, in defiance of the precepts and example of the missionaries,—then an entire change of policy and language took place; the continuous measures adopted by her Majesty's government in regard to New Zealand, were designated,—*shams, lies,*‡ *solemn grimace, fiction, foolery, fuss, and humbug;* the whole race of aborigines were described as something worse than savages and cannibals, and the treaty of Waitangi (well called by Captain Fitz-Roy, the Magna Charta of New Zealand), which had been approved and ratified by the Queen, and was as binding in all its provisions as any treaty into which the Sovereign of England ever entered, was thus spoken of by the governor of the New Zealand Company,—

"We have always had very serious doubts whether the treaty of Waitangi made with naked savages, by a consul invested with no plenipotentiary powers, without ratification by the Crown, could be treated by lawyers as anything but a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment."§

The answer of Lord Stanley to this extraordinary communication was worthy of his name, and of his position in the cabinet of his sovereign. His lordship, through Mr. Hope,‖ reminded Mr. Somes that he had previously offered on the part of the Crown, as a matter not of right, but of grace and favour,—

"To instruct the governor to make them a conditional grant, subject to prior titles to be established as by law provided, not only of such portion of the Wellington settlement as is in the actual possession of settlers under them, but also of all parts not in the occupation or possession of others; the extent of such grant, of course, not to exceed that to which they are entitled under Mr. Pennington's award. Further than this, Lord Stanley cannot consent to go, consistently with the obligations by which the Crown, as he conceives, is bound. Lord Stanley is not prepared, as her Majesty's Secretary of State, *to join with the Company in setting aside the treaty of Waitangi, after obtaining the advantages guaranteed by it,* even though it might be made with 'naked savages,' or though it might be treated by lawyers as 'a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment.'

"Lord Stanley entertains a different view of the respect due to obligations contracted by the Crown of England, and his final answer to the demands of the Company must be, that as long as he has the honour of serving the Crown, he will not admit that any person, or any government acting in the name of her Majesty, can contract *a legal, moral, or honorary obligation to despoil others of their lawful and equitable rights.*"¶

The new governor, before leaving Eng-

* On the contrary, in the third Report of Directors of New Zealand Company of May, 1841, page 4, it is expressly stated that "the Company has been put in regard to its purchases of land previously to the date of Governor Hobson's proclamation, *on precisely the same footing as any private individual.*"

† Letter from Mr. Vernon Smith on behalf of Lord J. Russell to J. Somes, governor of the Company, 20th of February, 1841.—Parliamentary Papers of 1841, p. 97.

‡ Speech of Mr. Charles Buller in the House of Commons, 17th June, 1845.

§ Letter from Mr. Somes to Lord Stanley, 24th of January, 1843.—Appendix to Parliamentary Committee of 1844, p. 30. See also Memorandum, p. 1.

‖ Appendix to Report of Select Committee, 1844, p. 333.

¶ The late Sir Robert Peel, in speaking of the treaty of Waitangi, took the same view of it as Lord Stanley; he said in the debate in the House of

land, made several attempts (as his predecessors, Captain Hobson and Lieutenant Shortland had done,) to obtain the force he deemed indispensable under the peculiar circumstances of the colony, to the support of an effective administration; he pointed out in the strongest manner the necessity both of troops and of a ship of war being permanently stationed there. His verbal and written applications, alike met with decided discouragement, and it was even proposed to withdraw the handful of soldiers of the line then at New Zealand, and substitute in their stead 100 marines for the protection of the whole of the scattered settlements until a militia could be raised in the colony.

Captain Fitz-Roy therefore was given to understand that he must depend solely on moral influence for the maintenance of the Queen's government, and for the protection of the lives and property entrusted to his guardianship. He left England in July, and reached Sydney, New South Wales, in November, 1843. Here he received tidings calculated to impress him most forcibly with the sense of the necessity for the exercise of the utmost discretion, judgment, and promptitude, in the adjustment of the land claims, as, under providence, the sole means of averting a war of extermination between the two races. A fearful tragedy had resulted from the persistence of the Company's agents in surveying land at the Wairau, without the sanction of the local government, and in defiance of the threats and entreaties of the native proprietors, who had repeatedly urged them to wait the decision of the land commissioner, appointed by their mutual Sovereign to judge between them. Here we may resume the narrative (see p. 186, div. v.,) of Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor; himself an important actor in the scenes which he graphically describes:

"The survey of the Wairau Plain having been let in three contracts, the contractors, Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson, Mr. Cotterell and Mr. Parkinson, each with as numerous a party of labourers as could be advantageously employed, proceeded to the Wairau. An interruption of the survey on the part of the native claimants being under the circumstances highly probable, a clause for indemnity in case of loss to the surveyor by such interruption was appended to each tender, and acquiesced in by the resident agent on the part of the New Zealand Company. At the outset the contractors encountered some annoyance and obstruction from the resident natives, especially in sawing timber for staking the sections of the survey; but as the latter refrained from any actual interference by force, the contractors were enabled, by good temper and quiet perseverance, to proceed rapidly with the execution of their contracts, and Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson had already nearly completed theirs, when tidings reached them that Rauperaha and Ranghiaiata had crossed the Straits from the Northern Island, accompanied by an armed force, with the intention of entering the Wairau, and removing the surveyors. The contractors, therefore, dispatched a letter to Nelson, requesting the chief surveyor to come to the Wairau, to examine and certify the sections which had been surveyed, as also to endeavour to induce the chiefs from the Northern Island to allow the surveys to be completed. On receipt of their letter, the chief surveyor, accompanied by Mr. Patchett, the principal agent for absentee proprietors of land, immediately left Nelson, proceeded to the mouth of the Wairau river, where he was met by Mr. Cotterell, who informed him that his survey-station had been visited on the previous day by Rauperaha, Ranghiaiata, and their men, in two large canoes, that they had burnt his hut, or warré, and compelled him and his assistants to leave the spot, and proceed to the old pah at the mouth of the river. Mr. Cotterell likewise stated that Mr. Thompson had already started with most of their men to return to Nelson overland, having completed their contract, but that Mr. Barnicoat remained, with one or two men, to take care of their effects, and wait the inspection of the survey; adding that he believed the chiefs were then in search of Mr. Parkinson and his party, and intended to bring them also down to the pah at the mouth of the river. The chief surveyor hastily wrote a few lines in pencil to the resident agent, stating the circumstances as related by Mr. Cotterell, and his (Mr. Tuckett's) intention to endeavour to remain at the Wairau until he heard from him. This communication he forwarded by Mr. Cotterell, who, at his request, left immediately with his men for Nelson. The chief surveyor then went up the river in his boat as far as Mr. Cotterell's survey station, and pitched a tent on the spot on which had stood the warre of Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Moline, Mr. Cotterell's assistant, accompanying him. The next morning, leaving the boat and its crew, with instructions not to offer any resistance to the natives, other than by not being removed unless carried, should they interfere with them in his absence, which he intended should be for three or four days, accompanied by Messrs. Patchett and Moline, he walked inland in quest of Mr. Parkinson's station, and on coming within sight of it observed a party of armed natives around it, and one or two on the roof, apparently keeping watch. Accosting the native who appeared to be the leader of the party, he inquired for Rauperaha and Ranghiaiata, and being informed that they were away in the wood, he desired him to go to them, to acquaint them of his arrival, and tell them

Commons, 19th June, 1845, "it is an absolute engagement, which, according to a proper construction of it, ought to be respected. Whatever are the honourable engagements which this country has contracted, they ought, in my opinion, to be fulfilled. I ask, will you commence your relations with the colony by an abandonment of the relations you have entered into. I will say that if ever there was a case where the stronger party was obliged by its position to respect the demands of the weaker; if ever a powerful country was bound by its engagements with a weaker, it was the engagement contracted under such circumstances with these native chiefs."

that he was going to examine a plain called the Kaiparatehau, to the east of the Wairau, whence he expected to return in three days to Mr. Cotterell's station, and should wish the chiefs to meet him there. The natives undertook the errand, and offered no incivility or any opposition to his going away to the Kaiparatehau. This party of natives, although they had just arrived at that station, had not encountered Mr. Parkinson or any of his party, who were at work at some distance from their usual lodging and store-houses.

"The chief surveyor on his return from the Kaiparatehau found Rauperaha and Ranghiaiata, with their followers, at Cotterell's station, waiting his arrival, together with his own boatmen and Mr. Parkinson's party, none of whom had received any ill-treatment from the natives. Rauperaha addressed him calmly and civilly, informing him why he had obliged Cotterell and the other surveyors to leave the ground, and requiring him also to quit the Wairau. The chief surveyor explained to Rauperaha that it would be doing an injury to the surveyors and their men, who maintained themselves by the wages obtained by work, to prevent them proceeding with their contracts; also that he had sent Mr. Cotterell to Nelson with information of Rauperaha's arrival and interference, and that he expected his superior, the resident agent, would come down on receipt of the intelligence, with whom they could discuss the question of right; meanwhile he felt bound to wait Captain Wakefield's arrival or reply. Rauperaha would not consent to the delay, and desired him to direct his own men to remove the tent, &c.; on his refusing to do so, Ranghiaiata came towards him, and, with much violence of manner, ordered him to be off, reminding him of the warning which he had given him at Nelson not to come there—adding, that if he was so fond of the Wairau, he (Ranghiaiata) would bury him there. However, on the chief surveyor telling him quietly that he would have nothing to say to him unless he could keep his temper, and behave as a gentleman and a chief ought to do, Ranghiaiata took the reproof in good part, and walked away. Notwithstanding his passionate temper, it was evident that he was restrained by Rauperaha, who acted in accordance with his promise given at Nelson, 'that if they did go to the Wairau no violence should be done them.' After a pause Rauperaha came forward again, and explained that on leaving Nelson he went to the Queen's commissioner (Mr. Spain), informed him that the survey of the Wairau was likely to be commenced, notwithstanding his remonstrance, and requested him to prevent all discord by appointing an early day to investigate the claim. That the commissioner had appointed a day, and that he (Rauperaha) promised in return that the natives would not previously enter the Wairau, or interfere with the surveyors. That they had crossed the Straits, and remained at Tory Channel and Port Underwood, until a week later than the time appointed by the commissioner, when finding that he did not come, and knowing that the survey was going on, and that if finished they should lose the land, they entered the Wairau and stopped the survey. Rauperaha professed himself still willing to appeal to the decision of the commissioner, and again requested the chief surveyor to have his tent, &c., removed by his own men. The latter repeated his refusal, claimed the right to remain on the ground, and expressed his intention to do so until he had received a reply from Captain Wakefield, upon which Rauperaha ordered his men to remove the tent, &c., to the boat. This being done, the chief surveyor considering any further opposition needless and useless, embarked with his party, and, accompanied by the two chiefs in their canoes, proceeded to the pah at the mouth of the river. The weather had been fine, but the wind, which blew strong in the straits subsequent to Mr. Cotterell's departure, still continuing, the natives represented to the chief surveyor that he could not go out with safety, and showed no impatience for his departure, although for three days the surf at the mouth of the river (the gale of wind heaping up the bar) was in their opinion too great to be safely encountered. During that time Ranghiaiata and his followers evinced neither ill-will nor exultation, but they kept aloof, seeking neither favour nor intercourse.

"As the contractors were entitled to compensation, in the event of loss incurred in the survey, the chief-surveyor inquired of Mr. Barnicoat and Mr. Parkinson, if any of their property had been taken by the natives. The latter informed him that one of his men had lost a handkerchief and a bill-hook, which he had seen in the possession of one of Ranghiaiata's men; the chief surveyor therefore requested them to accompany him, in order to inform Ranghiaiata of the circumstance. His reply was, that he had some bad men as well as good men, among his followers, and so, doubtless, had the chief surveyor; that he came there to defend his own, not to thieve; but that if the white man would point out which of the Maories had taken the things, he would make him restore them, or he should have 'utu' (compensation), instead. During this time Rauperaha was most fawning and conciliatory, daily professing his great friendship for the pakeha (foreigners), and representing that Ranghiaiata was a very brutal, rude fellow, and hostile to the pakeha. Up to this stage in the affair, Ranghiaiata, however fierce, appeared the nobler of the two.

"As the chief surveyor's boat would not carry the effects of the party, the Chiefs made no objection to their remaining until other boats should arrive for them, or until they could be removed to one of the whaling stations at Port Underwood. Mr. Barnicoat and Mr. Parkinson preferring to remain, the chief surveyor left with Messrs. Patchett and Moline, to return to Nelson. They reached the French pass that night, and by noon on the following day had got pretty nearly to Nelson, when they observed the colonial government brig, from which a gun was fired as a signal for them to come out to her. On doing so, they learnt that the brig had just sailed, and was proceeding to the Wairau with the police magistrate (Mr. Thompson), the Company's agent (Captain Wakefield), Captain England, J.P., Mr. Cottrell, and some other gentlemen of the settlement, accompanied by the chief constable and twenty or twenty-four labouring men, who had been sworn in as special-constables. The returning boat was taken in tow, and the party, on board. The agent informed the chief surveyor that Mr. Cottrell had narrowly escaped being lost on his passage to Nelson, and had been detained on the way, waiting for the gale to subside; and that after receiving the note of which he was the bearer, and hearing his report of the circumstance, further delay had occurred before a vessel could be procured in which to proceed to the Wairau. The chief surveyor related to the agent all that had passed with the

natives whilst he remained at the Wairau; recounted Rauperaha's statement respecting his interview and appointment with the land commissioner (Mr. Spain), and his disposition still to refer the claim to the commissioner's decision; and also that Rauperaha had stated that he had not burnt Mr. Cottrell's hut until he had removed everything belonging to Mr. Cottrell; and that both chiefs had carefully avoided doing or permitting any injury, either to the persons or property of the surveyors. He represented to the agent, that the party of men on board, with those who might subsequently join them, would probably not exceed half the number of the natives then on the Wairau, if the natives resident in the vicinity should remain there; he reminded him that he (Captain Wakefield) warned Ranghiaiata, in reply to his threat uttered at Nelson, that he would take several hundred men to arrest him; and he strongly urged, that however confident they might feel of the result, in the event of a conflict, that considerations of humanity to the natives demanded that their superiority in numbers should be so apparent, as to render resistance manifestly useless, and acquiescence not humiliating. He also handed to the agent the kind and judicious letter which Mr. Ironside had sent to him, when on his way to the Wairau.* Captain Wakefield expressed himself most gratified with the sentiments and counsel conveyed in Mr. Ironside's letter, and quite satisfied with the departure of the chief surveyor from the Wairau, under the circumstances; as also with the reasons which he had adduced against proceeding thither to attempt to carry into effect with so small a party, the intention with which they had embarked, especially after the intelligence which had transpired, and the vacating of the ground by the surveyors. Captain Wakefield went into the cabin to the police magistrate, and requested him to read Mr. Ironside's letter, stating that from that and the other considerations urged by the chief surveyor, he had come to the conclusion that it would be better at once to return to Nelson. Mr. Thompson urged, in reply, that they should be laughed at if they returned, and that it was very important not to lose the opportunity of giving to the natives a 'prestige for the law,' and to the government an 'initiative' in the right mode of dealing with such fellows, expressing his conviction, that if the authorities at Wellington had so acted, all annoyance from Ranghiaiata or other natives would have long since ceased. Another of the party, a gentleman who filled the office or had the title of crown prosecutor, begged that the expedition might not be given up, saying, 'It is only a lark; do let us go on;' meaning that he regarded it as a pleasant excursion, not likely to be attended with any serious consequences. The agent yielded to their wishes, and it was determined to proceed. The chief surveyor, apprehending very disastrous results would ensue, earnestly remonstrated with the police magistrate, especially on the ground of the impropriety of his proceeding to execute his warrant or summons with an armed force. The police magistrate admitted that such an act on his part would be highly improper, and warmly complained of it as an injurious imputation, to assume that he could be capable of doing so. He explained that he did not know that he should land the men; certainly, he should not give out the arms or take the men into the presence of the natives, until he had first addressed them, accompanied only by the chief constable and interpreter, adding, that if (which he did not anticipate), the chiefs should refuse to obey his summons to come on board the brig with him, that the charge against them might be *there* investigated, he should then return to the party, and decide whether or not to use coercion. Notwithstanding this declaration, on arriving off the mouth of the Wairau, the men and the boxes containing fire-arms were landed the same evening.

"The next morning, the whole party were ordered to get ready to proceed up the plain. The natives had left the old pah at the mouth of the river, on seeing the brig approaching, and were reported to be in a wood about five miles inland, and on the bank of the river. Perceiving that the police magistrate would not go to them unaccompanied by the force which he had brought, the chief surveyor addressed himself to the agent, and offered to go in his place, accompanied only by the chief constable and interpreter, if the police magistrate would allow the force to remain. The agent gladly accepted the offer, and easily persuaded the police magistrate to acquiesce. The chief constable was ordered to get ready. Presently he came forward, with a cutlass at his side, a brace of pistols, and a pair of handcuffs in his belt, and a pair of leg irons in his hand. The chief surveyor called attention to these accoutrements, expressing his conviction that the sight of the irons would exceedingly exasperate the chiefs and all the natives. He therefore requested that they might be left behind, and that if the constable wished to carry pistols, at least they should be concealed, so as to convey no appearance of an attempt at intimidation. On this, the police magistrate ordered the constable to put away the irons, and immediately added, that the whole party should proceed together, as he had, in the first instance, directed. To this determination he fixedly adhered. First, it was attempted to go up the river in boats, but it being ebb tide, and the wind not favourable, the boats, when filled, could make little way against the current. The men, therefore, landed, excepting Mr. Cotterell and his hands, who remained in a whale-boat. Much time was lost ere the party started: the track along the river (a survey line) afforded bad walking; the excitement of the excursion had been damped by the night's bivouac and the cold air of the morning; and it was evident that

* The letter of the Rev. Samuel Ironside, dated June 12, 1843, addressed to Mr. Tuckett, and delivered to him on his way to the Wairau, expressed great anxiety lest a collision should arise out of the subject of the claims to land, which would eventually terminate in the extinction of the native tribes, as had been the case in other countries settled by Europeans. Mr. Ironside urged on Mr. Tuckett not to be precipitate in endeavouring to include the Wairau in the Nelson survey, adding, that "the natives were almost fighting amongst themselves about the land, and that the resident natives felt themselves greatly aggrieved, because, as fast as Puaha and his party cleared the land, Rauperaha and his party took possession of it; in consequence of which procedure on Rauperaha's part, Puaha had expressed an intention to withdraw with his people from the Wairau, and to treat with the Nelson agent for the sale of it.'

the illusion of its being a pleasure party had vanished. They made but very slow progress. Going along, the agent alluded to the natives as not being a fighting people, but, on the contrary, a trading people, and expressed his conviction that they would not fight; the chief surveyor told him that he was convinced they would fight, if the police magistrate, by force, attempted to arrest the chiefs. On their way, they met with Puaha and his people, who were on the bank of the river, near to their canoes, having separated from the natives of the Northern Island, and being on their way to return to Port Underwood, quitting the Wairau (as had been foreseen by Mr. Ironside). Their countenances bespoke much alarm and grief, especially that of Puaha; so much so, that the agent made some remark at the time about it; and again, during the night, alluded to it as having painfully impressed him. The police magistrate assured Puaha that he had not come to interfere with *him*, and explained that he had granted a warrant against Rauperaha and Ranghiaiata, because they had burnt Mr. Cottereil's hut. He inquired where those two chiefs were; and on being informed that they were further in the interior, he requested Puaha to go and inform them for what object he had come. Puaha, at first, declined; but at last reluctantly undertook to bear the message: but he advised and entreated the police magistrate not to take the armed men with him when he went with the Queen's warrant, otherwise nothing which he, Puaha, could say, would make them believe that the police magistrate was not come to fight with them. Puaha then left on foot, his people following in their canoes up the river. The party from Nelson soon crossed the stream, and took up their position, until morning, in the wood already mentioned, about five miles from the mouth of the river, where the natives had been encamped the previous night. That evening the police magistrate frequently expressed his fear that he should not have the opportunity of arresting the chiefs, professing to believe that as soon as Puaha got to them, they would disperse in great panic, and had probably already got out of the Wairau. The resident agent, always grave and somewhat reserved, became unusually so, and in the opinion of a survivor, entertained a deep foreboding that the morrow's work would prove an unfit theme for heartless or feigned levity. The deep gloom which had fallen on the countenance of Puaha, and his prediction of the consequences of their persisting in their mode of procedure, evidently troubled him, for he recurred to it on awaking during the night. It was observed, in explanation, that there must necessarily have been a great struggle in the mind of Puaha, whether he, a chief, and once a warrior, should show himself to be faithful to his relatives and elders in the coming crisis, or stand aloof in fidelity to his Christian convictions of the sinfulness of shedding man's blood. To this remark Captain Wakefield assented, with an expression of respect for Puaha. The following morning, the camp of the natives was easily distinguished at a distance of about two miles, by the smoke of their fires. It was in a strong position, affording particular facilities for retreat, should it be desirable, through a thickly-wooded valley, leading to Queen Charlotte's Sound. The Nelson party being mustered, and sixteen to eighteen rounds of ball cartridge served to each man, proceeded on their way. They numbered forty men, bearing muskets, bayonets, and cutlasses, besides ten to twelve gentlemen, apparently unarmed, of whom two, Mr. Cotterell and the chief surveyor, were really so, in accordance with their principles and practice. On approaching the native camp, a deep, narrow, canal-like stream intervened, called the Tua Marina, or still-water. The natives were on a little grassy plot, surrounded by bushes, with but few timber-trees. On the bank where the colonists halted, the trees were numerous and large: it was the wooded slope of a hill-ridge which separated this valley from the plain, forming the western boundary of the latter. The stream was there not a hundred yards from the hill-ridge, which, as well as the slope on the other side, was unwooded.

"As soon as the armed force became visible to the natives opposite, they hailed it, inquiring loudly if they came to fight. The police magistrate replied that they did not, and explaining his purpose, requested the natives to place a canoe across the stream, that he might pass over to them. They replied, that they would not permit the armed men to cross, but that the gentlemen might come alone, if they were so disposed. This offer was accepted, a canoe was laid across, and the police magistrate, having left the armed men under the command of Captain England and Mr. Howard, to act if called on to do so, went over, accompanied by the agent, the chief surveyor, Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Patchett, the chief constable, and the interpreter. The canoe was then withdrawn, and laid as before alongside the stream by the natives. Three women,* the wives of Rauperaha, Ranghiaiata, and Puaha, sat in the centre; the party of the resident natives on one side, and the armed natives of the Northern Island on the other side of the group. Puaha stood in the centre, with a Testament in his hand, reading to the natives, and exhorting both parties to peace. Ranghiaiata was in the background, out of sight. Rauperaha advanced, unarmed, to meet the police magistrate and his companions, and inquired his object in coming there. The police magistrate informed him of the charge on which he had issued a warrant, and required him and Ranghiaiata to come on board the brig, where he would investigate the charge. Rauperaha replied by denying the accusation; explained that he had had everything belonging to Mr. Cotterell and his party removed before he ordered his people to set fire to the wood and grass which formed the sides, and supported the sail-cloth covering of the hut; that he had not burnt anything but that which had been taken from his own land. He appealed to Mr. Cotterell, who admitted the truth of his statement. The police magistrate remarked that he would not there discuss the matter, but that the two chiefs must obey the warrant, and go on board the brig, where he would listen to both sides, and decide the case fairly and impartially. Rauperaha replied that he would not go on board the brig, and so place himself in the power of the police magistrate, but that he would let him judge the case there, and though he considered himself to be the injured party, yet, rather than there should be any fighting, if a 'utu' or compensation were required, provided it were not excessive, he would comply. The police magistrate still insisted on their going on board the brig, adding that they might be accompanied by their men, if they wished it. He desired the interpreter to put it to him

* The presence of women is an invariable demonstration of the peaceful intention of the Maories.

whether he would go or not. Rauperaha, with much firmness, replied that he would not; on which the police magistrate, pointing to the opposite side of the stream, exclaimed, 'then tell him there are the armed party; they shall fire on them all.' A stranger native from the Bay of Islands, who understood the English language, told the armed natives that an order to fire had been given, upon which they sprung to their feet, levelled their muskets at the police magistrate and his companions, and stood waiting the order from Rauperaha to fire. Mr. Patchett and the chief surveyor approached and assured them that only a threat had been uttered, not an order to fire. They then resumed their former posture, squatting on the ground. Presently, Rauperaha persisting in his refusal, the police magistrate repeated his threat, and at the call of the stranger native, the armed natives again sprung to their feet, and levelled their muskets as before. At this moment Ranghiaiata left his concealment, and rushed forward, menacing the police magistrate with his hatchet. Mr. Patchett exclaimed to the chief surveyor, 'do interfere, or we shall be all murdered;' the latter, addressing the agent, remarked that being completely in the power of the natives, in consequence of the separation interposed by the stream, it was desirable that they should immediately return to their party on the other side, before, from the uncontrollable passion of Ranghiaiata, it should be too late to do so. Puaha came forward at the same time to learn what was being suggested. The agent approved the proposed step, and Puaha, in answer to his request for permission, desired him to take the canoe and pass over, in spite of the vehement opposition of the stranger native, who urged that as soon as the English had joined their party, they would fire. The agent, taking a pole, stepped into one end of the canoe, desiring the chief surveyor to remain on the bank, and move the other down the stream, until he could bring his end to a convenient landing, at a place free from thicket. Having accomplished this, he stepped out on the bank where the armed party stood, and addressed them with, 'men forward! Englishmen forward!' Several of them sprang into the canoe to cross over to the natives, while the police magistrate and the others entered it from the opposite bank. A momentary confusion and stoppage took place, and the canoe was nearly capsized; during this time a gun was discharged on the side occupied by the colonists (it is believed by a man accidentally falling). The natives instantly fired on the armed English in the canoe, killing the two foremost, and their fire was at once returned from the opposite bank, and then kept up on both sides. In the midst of this fire the police magistrate and the other gentlemen passed over the stream unhurt. The natives must have purposely abstained from shooting them, from a principle of honour, believing them unarmed, for they could have touched some of the hindmost with the muzzles of their muskets. The chief surveyor, when all the rest of his party had passed him in the canoe, entered the water, and with the aid of one hand, on the canoe, reached the opposite bank, the last of those who had crossed to the side on which the natives were; he then stood, as he supposes, about ten minutes exposed to the native fire, at a distance of perhaps twenty yards, whilst some fourteen or fifteen of the armed labourers returned it steadily and rapidly. His friend, Mr. Patchett, Mr. Barnicoat, and Mr. Cotterell, stood near him, as did also the chief constable. Mr. Patchett and the constable were both shot, the former mortally; two or three of the labouring men fell there, whilst others received wounds. Meanwhile, the leaders of the expedition were not in sight, having retreated from the borders of the stream to the foot of the ridge, accompanied by Captain England, Mr. Howard, and the majority of the armed men; they had doubtless retired to consult on what course to pursue, for shortly one of them hailed the chief surveyor by name, telling him that they were going up the hill, and desiring him to come away with the rest of the men, who had till then effectually prevented the natives from crossing the stream. The instant that they turned to leave the ground, the natives, carrying their muskets high with one hand, dashed through the water, took possession of the position just vacated, and from thence, under cover of the trees, fired on the retreating men, exposed to their aim as they proceeded up the bare ridge of the hill, outside the skirts of the wood, following their party in their precipitate retreat. On overtaking them at the first headland of the rise, they found the agent calling on the men to form and charge; the majority of those who had first proceeded up the hill continued their ascent, but more than a third stood with the gentlemen of the party; the natives meanwhile taking aim at a short distance from behind the trees. One of the armed men (who had been in the artillery), told the agent, that there was no one to be seen to charge on, and that it was folly to stay there to be shot down like crows by the natives, who had got possession of the wood; so saying he strode away. The opinion was right; the agent followed his example, and advanced with those who remained further up the hill. Having gained a distance at which the native fire ceased to be very dangerous, he determined to attempt a negotiation. Captain England and Mr. Howard consented to return towards the wood, carrying a white handkerchief on a stick, as a flag of truce. The agent, the better to ensure their safety, that the natives might understand the intention, desired all who remained to disarm, and lay down on the ground. This done, Captain England and Mr. Howard approached the wood; the natives left off firing, and some of them putting aside their arms, came out to meet them: but the larger party of the colonists who, when the retreat was so unwisely determined on, seized with some degree of panic, had continued to ascend the hill, regardless of the subsequent order to form, now seeing the rest of their party on the ground, halted on the summit of the hill, and commenced firing at the natives, who, confiding in the flag of truce, had come out of the wood. On this seeming treachery, the natives retreated hastily to the wood and resumed their arms, Captain England and Mr. Howard ran back up the hill to their companions, and reached them, untouched by the renewed fire of the natives: upon which the police magistrate and his companions sprung to their feet. Most of the party evinced great self-possession, but no orders were given, and most of the men did not resume their arms; they commenced walking up the hill, which the others on the summit perceiving, immediately continued their retreat. Some went off into the wooded valley on their left; but the greater number went forward up the ridge. As they moved away, the chief surveyor, who had lain on the ground between the police magistrate and the agent, stood still, and addressing the party, urged that they should descend to the plain on the right

hand, believing that they could not easily reach the coast in pursing the ridge. He repeated this suggestion twice, but no one replied to it, nor acted on it; then, as all had left the ground, he started off, descending obliquely into the plain, in the course which he had recommended, calling on Mr. Barnicoat by name to come with him, which he did. One of the labouring men, named Gay, also turned off after him; Mr. Cotterell stopped for a moment as if about to do so likewise, but presently followed the others in their retreat up the hill.

" The moment the natives perceived that the retreat was resumed they proceeded up the hill, and on arriving at the point where the chief surveyor had left the ridge, five armed natives followed on his track, firing as fast as they could, whilst the larger number ascended the ridge after the main body of fugitives. Puaha hastened up the hill, and called back the five natives from the pursuit of the chief surveyor and the two who accompanied him. Soon after the chief surveyor observed Mr. Cotterell turn back, and meeting the natives surrender himself, and saw the rest of the gentlemen of the Nelson party overtaken and surrounded before they had arrived at the further summit of the hill.

" At the first commencement of this most ill-ad-advised retreat from the wood at the foot of the hill, a merchant from Sydney, who was a passenger in the brig, on her calling at Nelson, and who had accompanied the Nelson colonists up the Wairau in the expectation of having a pleasant excursion, returned to the boats with one of the armed men who had been disabled by an extremely painful wound of the hand, taking the whale boat, and the man who had charge of the boats; these three, leaving the large boat, descended the river, and gained the brig. A few others, at the same time, retreated by another route, going inland up the Wairau valley, and thus back to Nelson. Before the chief surveyor and his two companions reached the coast, they were joined by seven or eight others who had descended from the hill into the plain, and seeing them coming, waited their arrival. One of these had received a severe wound in the shoulder, which bled profusely, but which he bore with great fortitude. The chief surveyor proposed their dividing into two parties, one to go to the pah at the mouth of the river, the other to the shore at the west boundary of the plain, and thence along the coast towards Port Underwood, thinking that thus there would be greater probability of some of the party gaining the brig. He desired whoever should first do so to tell the captain that his immediate departure for Wellington would afford the best protection for those who were or might be in the power of the natives. The men, however, refusing to separate, he determined to gain the sea shore on the side nearest to Port Underwood. On reaching it, at that very point, they found the crew of a whale boat fishing and watching for whales. Very reluctantly, and after urging strong objections, the head man of the boat consented to receive the whole party, ten or eleven in number, and to convey them on board the brig, distant seven or nine miles, a heavy swell setting in shore on the boat's beam the whole way. Even after having made the promise, he declared that he must turn back, and take them to Port Underwood, or all would be drowned. Fortunately, when his resolution was at a low ebb, a rival whale-boat came out in rapid pursuit, imagining that the one in advance was in chase of a whale. The idea of the mistake of their pursuer took the crew's fancy, all thought of danger vanished, and before the other boat could approach them near enough to perceive their mistake, it was as well to proceed to the vessel as to return. As soon as the colonists were on board the brig the whalers were informed that the party from Nelson had retreated from the natives, into whose hands the leaders had fallen, and that the others had dispersed in various directions. The chief surveyor obtained from them a promise (which however was not fulfilled) that they would return to Port Underwood, and acquaint the rest of the Europeans with the circumstance, that they might consider what was best to be done for the safety of all, and what measures to adopt for the relief of those who had dispersed. The ship's boats were sent out along shore to pick up any stragglers who might arrive at the beach. Soon after sun-set a great fire was seen flaming on shore near the old pah, at the mouth of the river: it was important but very difficult to ascertain whether it was made by the natives or by the fugitives, since there was great danger at dusk on account of the bad bar and the surf, beside the probability of the natives being there. A boat which was sent to reconnoitre returned not quite certain who was on shore, but believing that it was a party of natives, as it afterwards proved to be. The captain of the brig at first inclined to enter Port Underwood, but on being urged by the chief surveyor to cross to Port Nicholson, he acquiesced, and before day-break next morning landed him at Wellington. The wounded men were landed and left; one of them had to undergo immediate amputation of his arm at the socket-joint of the shoulder. Great excitement was produced there both amongst the colonists and natives by the news of what had taken place, a large party of volunteers at once embarked, to go over for the forcible rescue of the Nelson colonists; but a gale of wind came on which prevented the brig sailing, and made the volunteers sea-sick and discontented, and better counsels prevailed. The volunteers re-landed, and the principal agent (Colonel Wakefield), the land commissioner and his interpreter (Mr. Meurant), the Protector of Aborigines, with some magistrates and surgeons of the settlement embarked, convinced that if those who had been taken were yet alive, their liberation would be more easily and safely effected by the negotiation of their friends, than by an attack, or threats of armed interference. The brig resailed in the night. On arriving at Port Underwood, the Wellington gentlemen, who were apparently almost without apprehension respecting the safety of their countrymen, received the appalling intelligence that all who had surrendered had almost immediately perished, and that the natives had then precipitately left the Wairau, taking with them the large boat as well as their canoes; that they had held a council at the mouth of the river, some wishing to attack the brig, whilst others objected to doing so. They then quitted the river for Port Underwood, and had gone thence intending to return to the Northern Island, accompanied by most of the resident natives, who were all in consternation at what had been done, anticipating that it would be revenged. Of the colonists who had escaped, the most part had found their way to Port Underwood, some of whom had suffered much from wounds, and also from protracted hunger. Mr. Ironside, the Wesleyan missionary at Port Underwood, had proceeded to the field of combat, as soon as the afflicting tidings reached him, accompanied in

his boat by a few attached natives. He entered the Wairau river when the state of the weather would have deterred others less habituated in self-sacrifice. Mr. Spain the land-commissioner, immediately engaged whale-boats and crews to proceed with the party on board the brig, to the assistance of Mr. Ironside, but the boatmen could not be induced to attempt to enter the river, until the weather had moderated. Colonel Wakefield, the brother of the deceased resident agent, having intimated that it would be satisfactory to him if the bodies were interred on the spot, and all feeling that the removal by boats, and then by the brig to either of the settlements, could not be easily accomplished, as soon as the weather permitted, the party entered the Wairau, intending to inter them there. But it was already Saturday, and Mr. Ironside could not remain longer absent from his station, both on account of his other duties, and for want of provisions; therefore having seen the brig returning from Wellington, and receiving no assistance or message in the ensuing two days, he had been compelled, unassisted, to prepare the graves, and commit to them the bodies of the slain, and had already nearly completed the painful and fatiguing service before the arrival of the party from the brig. But afterwards, on extending the search, two more bodies, probably of some who had crawled away mortally wounded, or of fugitives who had been overtaken, were found and buried. Those who fell in the combat in the wood, five in number, were interred there, and those who were killed on the hill after their surrender (fourteen) were interred close by.

"Mr. Ironside found that the bodies had not been in any way mutilated, neither had their clothes nor their personal property been interfered with. The watch of the agent was the only article missing: it appeared to have been snatched from his person; the guard-chain was broken, but remained under his vest; and the watch had probably been drawn out unintentionally, and fallen to the ground, in a struggle for life. One of his pistols, the cap of which had missed fire, was laid across his throat. It appears that he was the only one of the party who attempted to defend himself.

"Returning to Port Underwood, Mr. Spain obtained information of property belonging to the slain, which had been sold or given away by the natives, who, in descending the river, had taken possession of much property belonging to the deceased, which had been left at their last sleeping-place in the wood. Two young native men were found, who had been present in the conflict at Wairau, and being wounded there, had remained at Port Underwood with female relatives connected with the whalers. Their depositions were taken the next morning by Mr. Spain, and the other magistrates, on board the brig. They concurred in representing, that as soon as the gentlemen were overtaken, Puaha, who was one of the first to approach them, offered them his hand, telling them he had counted the dead, and that the number was the same on each side; that, therefore, there was no need (even according to Maori usage) of any further bloodshed. That Rauperaha, on coming up, also acquiesced in Puaha's sentiments and assurances, only requiring a large payment in satisfaction for the injury which had been done to him and his people. At this moment, Ranghiaiata had rushed up furiously enraged, and demanded the lives of the whole party, to avenge the death of his wife, bidding Rauperaha remember his daughter. Rauperaha appears to have admitted this claim, and Puaha, and the resident natives to have been intimidated by the armed followers of the heathen chiefs of the Northern Island. The native witnesses further stated, that Ranghiaiata almost immediately killed the lamented colonists with his own hand, though it is probable that others of his followers must have assisted in the merciless slaughter.*

"All information having been obtained that could be had, the party prepared to return to Wellington, taking with them the wounded. Those of the Nelson party who had escaped uninjured, left for that settlement, some preferring to return overland, the rest proceeding in two whale-boats. Before parting, the principal agent handed to the chief surveyor an official letter, appointing him to the office of acting agent for the settlement, until the pleasure of the directors of the New Zealand Company should be known.

"The body of Mr. Maling, the chief constable, not having been found, and others who were missing not arriving at the settlement of Nelson, which it was hoped they might have reached subsequently, Mr. Ironside kindly returned to the graves, both to have them protected by some enclosure, against disturbance by pigs, and to search further, if any bodies should remain uninterred. He was successful in finding two bodies—those of the men who entered the canoe on the order being given for them to cross the stream, and who fell in the water on the first fire from the natives. The bodies, which at first sunk, had subsequently risen to the surface. The chief surveyor, on leaving the brig, though the weather threatened to be very bad, determined to go up Cook's Straits, outside all land, lest his return to Nelson should be interrupted by the natives in Tory Channel, or Queen Charlotte's Sound, the party in the other boat, though directed to keep company, went into Tory Channel, and were detained by the natives for a week. The wind was fair, but about sunset it blew a gale, accompanied with heavy rain. Running with the smallest possible sail before the gale, the French Pass was reached in unusually short time. The sky clearing a little, a new danger presented itself. They could distinguish the Deal boat which the natives had taken possession of in the Wairau, entering the Pass close in on the opposite shore. The whale-boat not being easily distinguishable within the same distance, the boat was beached, and a short stay made, to permit the boat on the opposite shore to pass the narrows of the straits. Then launching it again, and passing through the rapids, keeping as close as possible in shore, they gained the further entrance of the Pass on the side of Blind Bay, just as the Deal boat was being hauled up on the beach of a little bay on D'Urville's Island, by a large party of men apparently all in dark European clothing, or else having their bodies blackened. However, the whale-boat either passed unobserved, or else the natives did not care to encounter, in the night, the very heavy sea which was then rolling into the Pass, and in about sixteen hours after leaving the brig, the colonists arrived in safety at Nelson Haven.

* *Vide* the evidence of these witnesses, which was penned before the magistrates, in the brig, by a Mr. Marshall, now residing at Plymouth, who, with a Captain Wilson, of Nelson, were on board the brig on her departure from Nelson, and who remained on board when the others landed at the Wairau.

"It would be impossible to describe the consternation which prevailed when the result of the expedition to the Wairau was first communicated there, on the arrival of the chief surveyor. The disorganization which ensued amongst all classes, has been the subject of many official and other statements, and will not here be pursued in the sequence of its details. But as the unsound state of the settlement, in respect to the want of employers and the excessive number of disappointed* emigrants of the labouring class, has been already portrayed, it may be necessary here to state, that all this evil was at once aggravated, the few private persons who had hitherto employed labour immediately diminishing or ceasing entirely the employment of labourers. All, consequently, came on the Company for employment; the number of claimants rose rapidly, in spite of impediments or delay, from 250 to 400. The inadequate performance of work by the men having always been known to the acting agent, in his capacity of surveyor and engineer, he could not conscientiously continue the former practice of paying them wages, unless they would earn them. This intimation produced resentment and resistance, which was secretly aggravated and kept alive by those tradesmen who were momentarily interested in a wasteful expenditure, and by the jealousy of others, although their true interests, like those of the settlement, depended on the improved industry of the labourers. The natives, in general, became the objects of fear, insult, and bad feeling; and the acting agent, in doing only impartial justice to their conduct and claims, largely shared in that expression of ill will. After much disorder from these causes, and alarm from unfounded reports of the intended attacks on the settlement by Rauperaha and Rangñiaiata, and consequent unnecessary disposition of labour for the defence of the town, got up for the most part to keep the mass of the discontented labourers there, and so baffle the attempt of the acting agent to employ them in various districts more effectively; some degree of order and industry was at last restored, by the consent of the principal agent to the employment of the men, in future, by piece-work, which Colonel Wakefield would not permit, when first proposed to him by the acting agent, though he allowed his successor, Mr. Fox, to carry the suggestion into effect. At the same time, the men, feeling that the reputation of the settlement would fall in England on receipt of the intelligence of the disastrous loss at the Wairau, began to perceive that it would be wise to do some work on the land, so that if the worst came, they might have some food of their own raising for subsistence. They, therefore, generally consented, one set after another, to take land of the New Zealand Company, provided that it was *good* land, and that the labour by piece-work, in forming roads, was allotted them *near to such land*. By this arrangement, many hundred men became cottiers in a settlement, in which the land was purchased by the proprietors on the condition that the men should be, as much as possible, prevented from becoming cottiers. It would have been only tardy and partial justice to the deceived labourers, if such an arrangement had been effected earlier. Under the circumstances, it was an unavoidable and irretrievable injury to the few proprietors who had employed labour in land, hoping to obtain a remunerating market for its produce. These, it must be clear, are equitably entitled to a liberal compensation, both for their purchase and for their expenditure of capital in the improvement of the land, as are all the *non-resident* proprietors, to the return of the purchase price of the land, with interest thereon. The land possessed and occupied by the proprietors was necessarily for the most part very inferior in quality, because the allotted district afforded very little fertile land, and *their* order of choice had been determined in London by the action of a lottery. But the labourers who were induced to become cottiers, in order to relieve the New Zealand Company from the obligation of maintaining them, selected the best portions of the best sections of lands, which the reserved land of the New Zealand Company, or that kept for sale in the colonies, would afford. With the assistance of the land commissioner, or even without it, *prior to survey*, the lands required might have been purchased *seriatim*, on the most reasonable terms, as fast as they were required. But the New Zealand Company insisted on surveying and occupying first, and determining their title afterwards. The completion of the survey of the Nelson settlement was stopped, the local government sending a notice to the chief surveyor that he was not at liberty to enter the Wairau, until the purchase should be completed."

It was not at Nelson, only, that the effects of the melancholy Wairau catastrophe were experienced; on the contrary, the shock it caused reverberated through the length and breadth of the land, but was especially felt in the vicinity of the Company's settlements. Mr. Commissioner Spain, writing two years afterwards, declared that this unhappy conflict had done much towards the estrangement of the two races, and that from the period of its occurrence, might be dated the existence in the native mind of a feeling of jealousy and animosity towards the European stranger, but little calculated to strengthen the bonds of intercourse between them, or to promote the advancement of civilization.† The handcuffs and leg-irons which Mr. Thompson

* The number of emigrants sent out by the New Zealand Company to Nelson, was, in—

1841—77, belonging to the preliminary expedition.
1842—403, arrived before September, guaranteed "employment in the service of the Company," when "unable to obtain it elsewhere."
– 231, arrived after September, not having any promise of employment from New Zealand Company.
1843—96, without promise of employment from New Zealand Company.
Total, 789. Certified by immigration agent. Nelson, 28th July, 1843.

There was no employment for the greater part of these immigrants, and it was therefore incumbent on the Company to employ or otherwise support them.

† Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 8th April, 1846, page 17.

had so unwisely taken with him, when about to attempt the forcible capture of Rauperaha, and Ranghiaiata having fallen into the hands of the natives, were sent throughout the Northern Island, from tribe to tribe,* as evidence of what the encroaching foreigners, who had at first been supposed to be Christian colonists and peaceful traders, intended to do to the Maories, by-and-bye, when they should become sufficiently powerful. It was then that the marked alteration took place in the tone and bearing of the natives, consequent upon the illegal encroachments of the New Zealand Company's settlers, who wished to make it appear that they (the natives) were striving to retain possession of lands which they had willingly alienated, which there is abundant evidence to prove was not the case.

The Wellington and Nelson colonists, after the Wairau affray, spoke and acted as if their unhappy countrymen had been the victims of an unprovoked, savage, and murderous attack upon them. They rose *en masse*, made the most hostile speeches regarding the natives, which they followed up by every warlike demonstration—drilling, exercising, constructing batteries, and practising themselves in the working of cannon.†

Acting-Governor Shortland, perceiving the necessity of taking some step to quiet the excitement of the population, both British and Maori, sent Major Richmond, with fifty-three men, (more than half the force at his disposal,) to maintain peace in the settlements on Cook's Straits, with orders for the immediate discontinuance of the irregular military preparations then actively carried on. The acting-governor, at the same time, issued a proclamation, warning all persons against exercising acts of ownership on land, to which their title was disputed by the original native owners, until the question of ownership should have been determined by the said commissioners. He likewise consulted Mr. Swainson, the attorney-general of the colony concerning the legality or illegality of the proceeding of Mr. Thompson. Mr. Swainson at once declared it to have been "illegal in its inception, and in every step of its execution; unjustifiable in the magistrate and the four constables, and criminal in the last degree on the part of the rest of the attacking party." He also gave it as his opinion, (after receiving the depositions of various witnesses of both races,) that no act of felony had been committed by the chiefs, and that it was difficult to conceive on what legal grounds a warrant could have been issued for their apprehension.‡

The attorney-general's opinion was confirmed by that of Mr. Spain, her Majesty's land commissioner, also a lawyer, who, in a letter to the acting-governor, dated Port Nicholson, 28th June, 1843, says that this—

"Ill-advised and injudicious step was an attempt to set British law at defiance, and to obtain, by force,§ possession of a tract of land, the title to which was disputed, and then under the consideration of a commissioner specially appointed to investigate and report upon it."

He adds—

"All the information I have obtained goes to show, that in the commencement of the affair, the natives exhibited the greatest possible forbearance, and evinced the atmost repugnance to fight with the Europeans, requesting that the matter might be referred to me for decision, they not understanding any difference between the land question and the offence of burning the 'toe-toe' hut upon the land which they claimed as their own."‖

Mr. Clarke, the protector of aborigines, thus expressed his view of the subject:—

"I cannot say I am surprised at what has taken place; I rather wonder at the long forbearance of the natives in the vicinity of the Company's settlements, receiving, as they have, such deep provocation, in the forcible occupancy of lands which they never alienated. * * * I am satisfied that such an unhappy affair as that of Te Wairau, could never have occurred, had not the natives been urged to it by extreme provocation. * * * The parties engaged in this rash and inhuman affray have inflicted a deadly wound on the interests of the colony, by means of the unfortunate impression with regard to native character which this circumstance, even after

* Intelligence is rapidly transmitted throughout New Zealand, whether the tribes are at war or at peace. Every traveller is expected to bring news to ensure his welcome; and as may be supposed, the Maories, like most other inveterate gossips, occasionally draw upon their imagination for their facts.

† *Vide* an able essay on the *British Colonization of New Zealand;* published by the committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society; 1846: p. 18.

‡ Appendix to Report of Select Committee for 1844; pp. 165 and 177.

§ That the expectation of Captain Wakefield was to obtain forcible possession of a disputed tract, is evident from a letter addressed by him to his brother, Colonel Wakefield, dated Nelson, 13th June, 1843, in which, after mentioning that Thompson, himself, England, and a lot of constables, were off immediately, in the government brig, to execute the warrant, he adds, "*we shall muster about sixty; so I think we shall overcome these travelling bullies*" (referring to the non-resident natives).—See Mr. E. J. Wakefield's *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. ii., p. 385.

‖ Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1844; p. 170.

the fullest explanation, will create. They have also occasioned a breach of that confidence hitherto existing, which must prove alike injurious to both parties, and which time only will repair; and while I entertain the fullest confidence in the integrity of the natives, and am under no apprehension of any undue advantage being taken by them of their late success,* I at the same time, experience the greatest apprehension of danger from a number of our own countrymen, who, I fear, are using every possible means to widen the breach, for the unworthy purpose of *taking possession of the coveted lands, and throwing the onus of the aggression on her Majesty's government.*"

Mr. Shortland acted in accordance with the opinions of the three gentlemen referred to, and thereby rendered himself extremely unpopular with the Wellington and Nelson settlers, who, though prevented from continuing in public their warlike demonstrations, "began to practise rifle-shooting in their own gardens, and kept stands of arms and ammunition always ready in their houses," a proceeding which did not escape the observant natives.

Captain Sir Everard Home, Bart., arrived at Port Nicholson in the month of October, in command of H.M.S. *North Star*, and was immediately appealed to by the excited colonists to execute a warrant against Rauperaha and Ranghiaiata for murder. He assured them that they had entirely mistaken his functions as captain of a man-of-war, and explained that troops had been put on board, on the express condition that they were on no account to be landed, except for the preservation of the lives and properties of British subjects. Sir Everard, on reaching Auckland, informed the acting-governor that, in his opinion, none of the settlements which he had lately visited had anything to fear from the natives, *so long as they* (*the natives*) *were fairly dealt with.*† At Nelson, he adds, "a force is wanted, not to repel the attacks of natives, but to restrain and keep in subjection the English labourers brought over by the New Zealand Company, who have, I believe, been in open rebellion against their employers more than once. At that place, also, the general feeling appears to be more inclined to revenge the death of their friends, than to wish impartial justice to be done; and vengeance and revenge are words that I have heard used when speaking of that affair." ‡

Governor Fitz-Roy arrived at Auckland at the close of December, and found the local government without money or credit, and in debt more than one year's revenue. There were no means of paying any salaries, however long in arrear; scarcely could the most pressing and ordinary payments on account of the colonial government be made. Various local laws, urgently required on account of frequent disputes which occurred between settlers and natives, to whose condition English law is more or less unsuitable, had been too long deferred, the Legislative Council not having been assembled during Mr. Shortland's administration of the government, or for nearly a year previous to Captain Hobson's death, during which long interval no measure had even been prepared by the law officers. The complimentary addresses to the new governor from the various settlements, all teemed with expressions of distress and dissatisfaction. The inhabitants of Auckland, through their chairman, Dr. S. M. D. Martin, after congratulating Governor Fitz-Roy on the safe arrival of himself and his family, gave a painful picture of the state of the settlements, and adverted to "the bankruptcy of the local government, the great amount of its debts in a community so small, with the vast amount of privation and misery necessarily occasioned; the suspension of the land sales, as well as of emigration; the total destruction of the once flourishing commerce of the country; the state of starvation in which many of the emigrants are existing, with the complete prostration of the energies of the settlers generally, and their desire to leave the colony, unless an immediate change for the better can be brought about."§

Among the causes for this state of things especially noticed, were the non-settlement of the claims made by the old and original settlers, after the lapse of nearly four years, and the discontent widely spreading among the natives, with whom, the address goes on to state, "our relations, we believe, can never be placed upon a secure basis, until their full rights as British subjects are conceded to them; more particularly the power of selling their land to whom they please—a power which they ardently

* Fears were then entertained, both at Wellington and at Nelson, that the natives intended to attack those settlements, and massacre the residents, in revenge for their own people who had been slain at the Wairau.

† *Adventure in New Zealand;* by Mr. E. J. Wakefield: vol. ii., p. 418.

‡ See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, printed in 1844; p. 272.

§ *Ibid*, 22nd April, 1845; p. 21.

desire to possess, and which their intelligence, as well as their natural rights, gives them the strongest claim to enjoy.* The restrictions on trade by custom-house regulations and duties, were bitterly complained of, and the want of punctuality in the payment of salaries and other pecuniary obligations due by the local government, was adverted to as having occasioned much inconvenience and loss of credit to individuals, and proved hurtful to the community generally. Another grievance was "the recent importation of juvenile delinquents from the Penitentiary of Parkhurst."

The addresses from Wellington and New Plymouth breathed the same spirit of depression, mingled with alarm at the tone and manner of the natives, in regard to the land claims.

In the Korararika address, it is stated, "the country has become, beyond example, one general scene of anxiety, distress, and ruin, so that property has lost its value, personal security has been at stake, and happiness has almost ceased to exist." The causes named are, the unsettled state of the old land claims, and the imposition of custom duties, which had driven away both native and European commerce, and destroyed all agricultural enterprise, together with the market for all sorts of produce.

Notwithstanding the pressure of business at Auckland, Governor Fitz-Roy felt the imperative necessity of hastening to the southern settlements to check the hostile feelings rapidly increasing between the two races, and effect, if possible, an amicable adjustment of the New Zealand Company's claims to land near Port Nicholson.†

The pacific and conciliatory policy he there pursued, was as sound in principle as efficient in practice, yet it met with much opposition at the time, both at Wellington and Nelson, where the feeling of animosity against the natives was very strong.

Before leaving Wellington, Governor Fitz-Roy (in accordance with his instructions) appointed Major Richmond "Superintendent of the southern division of New Zealand," with a salary of £600 a-year; he then proceeded to Nelson, which he has described in terms wholly confirmatory of Mr. Tuckett's statements, as a very unsuitable locality for an important settlement. "Far out of the track of shipping, at the bottom of a deep bay, shut in by high wooded hills, with scarcely any level land, except at a great distance, and with a confined harbour accessible only to small ships—it is, indeed, much to be lamented, that under any circumstances, such a situation should have been selected.‡ At Waikanaë, opposite Kapite or Entry Island, the Governor, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, Mr. Commissioner Spain, and the officers of the *North Star*, the police magistrates from Wellington (Major Richmond and Mr. Symonds), and the sub-protector (Mr. George Clarke, jun.) pronounced his decision with regard to the Wairau conflict. The meeting was held in the pah or village of Te Rauperaha, in the presence of the two chiefs and a large concourse of natives, to whom Captain Fitz-Roy made a short address, telling them of the grief which the intelligence of the death of his countrymen had caused him, and desiring them to give their account of the whole affair, that he might compare it with that of the settlers, and judge accordingly.

Rauperaha obeyed, and made a clear and explicit statement, agreeing in all material points with that which has been already given (see Mr. Tuckett's narrative); he then sat down, and the whole assembly waited in silence the Governor's decision. In about half-an-hour his excellency rose, and after severely censuring the natives for their cruelty in destroying the colonists who had surrendered themselves, declared that nevertheless, as the pakehas (strangers) had brought on and began the fight, and hurried the Maories into crime by their misconduct, he would not avenge their deaths.§

By this just and discreet decision, Captain Fitz-Roy avoided the evils which must have attended any other course. Had he yielded to the clamour of the settlers, and proceeded to try the chiefs, their acquittal by an impartial jury was morally certain; and their apprehension, even supposing the English to have had the power to effect

* In a memorial presented by the committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to Earl Grey, in February, 1847, it is urged that even were there no Treaty of Waitangi in existence, "the power of disposal is an essential element of the right of property. Property is virtually taken away when the power of disposing of it is lost."—Vide p. 7. Without entirely assenting to the latter part of this proposition, I quote it as the opinion of a very able as well as estimable body.

† Vide *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N.; p. 17. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 19.

§ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845; p. 32.

it (which they had not), could but have exasperated all parties yet more. Or had he shrunk from the responsibility, referred the decision to the home government, and kept the question open meanwhile, the state of mind in which the natives then were, leaves little doubt that they would have lost no time in attacking the settlements, before the anticipated arrival of military reinforcements. As it was, they rejoiced to find they were to be again on friendly terms with the "pakeha," readily laid aside their fears and suspicions, and resumed their ordinary avocations forthwith; while the settlers proceeded, as usual, in clearing and cultivating their allotments. Had, however, Captain Fitz-Roy waited despatches from England, before taking any decided step in the matter, he would have found himself thereby enjoined, in the event of any future exigency (for on this, Lord Stanley rightly judged, a course of policy would doubtless have already been adopted), to do as he had actually done, namely, to be guided rather by considerations of equity and prudence, than by the technical rules and forms of English law. His lordship, at the same time, declared, with respect to the melancholy incident in question, that after examining the evidence forwarded by the local government, and the statements made by the agents of the New Zealand Company, as well as by less biassed witnesses, that whether he tried the proceedings of Mr. Thompson and his followers by general principles, or by the narrower rule of the law of England, he was compelled to adopt the same conclusion, and to record, notwithstanding his regard for the memory of the deceased, his belief that *they had needlessly violated the rules of the law of England, the maxims of prudence, and the principles of justice.*

After enumerating the leading facts of the case, Lord Stanley added:—

"So manifestly illegal, unjust, and unwise were the martial array and the command to advance, that I fear the authors of that order must be held responsible for all that followed in natural and immediate sequence upon it. I know not how to devolve that responsibility on the natives; they exercised the rights of self-defence, and of mutual protection against an imminent, overwhelming and deadly danger. Revolting to our feelings as Christians, and to our opinions as members of a civilized state, as was the ultimate massacre, it is impossible to deny to our savage antagonists the benefits of the apology which is to be urged in their behalf.

"They who provoke an indefensible warfare with barbarous tribes are hardly entitled to complain of the barbarities inseparable from such contests; and even in a state of society far advanced above that of the New Zealanders, some indulgence must be made for the fierce working of the vindictive passions of our nature at the moment, and on the scene of battle, when kindled by such provocation as the violent death of a wife and daughter protecting her husband's person at the sacrifice of her own. * * * In conclusion, I have only to express the earnest hope I entertain, that by a conduct towards the natives, distinguished alike by conciliation, sincerity, and firmness, it may be in the power of the governor to re-establish that confidence in the justice, and that respect for the strength of the local government, which the transactions at Cloudy Bay have been so much calculated to impair."*

In a subsequent despatch (dated November, 1844), Lord Stanley, in reply to Governor Fitz-Roy's announcement of the decision he had given, says, "I am of opinion that in declining to make the Wairau conflict a subject of criminal proceedings, you took a wise, though undoubtedly a bold decision."

From Nelson the governor returned to Wellington, and assisted in the completion of the New Zealand Company's purchase of land about Port Nicholson† (except the upper part of the Hutt Valley), while H.M.S. *North Star* sailed for Sydney. Mr. Commissioner Spain proceeded along the west coast towards New Plymouth, to endeavour to effect a settlement of the disputed purchases at Porirua, Manawatu, Wanganui, and Taranaki.

A new obstacle had been thrown in the way of a speedy arrangement of the land claims of the New Zealand Company during the past year, which has not yet been referred to, namely, the assumption of a right on their behalf by Colonel Wakefield, to be allowed to possess themselves of all the lands referred to in Mr. Pennington's investigation; viz., about one million acres, *exclusive* of the "native reserves," on which the Company had laid such great stress, as proofs of their generous dealings with the natives. Mr. Spain and Acting-governor Shortland at once declared that this interpretation of the agreement of 1840 was erroneous, upon which Colonel Wakefield

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee of Parliament, 1844, pp. 172, '3, '4.

† "The first payment in compensation of former deficiencies made at Wellington, in February, 1844, consisted of £730, and was paid over all in silver money, to four different tribes of natives, without difficulty, disturbance, or quarrelling among themselves."—Vide Governor Fitz-Roy's despatch to Lord Stanley, 15th of April, 1844.

admitted that his first reading and understanding of the clause in question agreed with theirs, and said that he had written home for further instructions.

Lord Stanley, in a despatch to Governor Fitz-Roy, dated 18th of April, 1844, referring to the repudiation by Colonel Wakefield of the native reserves, says,—

"There can be no question that they should be taken out of the Company's lands. The Company had, in former instructions to their agent, provided for reserving one-tenth of all lands which they might acquire from the natives, for their benefit. By the thirteenth clause of their agreement, of November, 1840, the government was in respect of all to be granted to them to make reservation of such lands for the benefit of the natives, in pursuance of the Company's engagements to that effect. It seems quite plain, therefore, that the government is to reserve for this purpose one-tenth of the Company's lands. The fact is almost proved by the very language of Colonel Wakefield's accounts themselves; for in assuming that the government was to allow for native reserves, over and above the quantity assigned for the Company, he is obliged to designate those lands as *the eleventh of the total grant*, a proportion which was never heard of until the present statement arrived. The reserves in question must therefore be taken from some part or other of the Company's lands."*

On his return to Auckland, the governor assembled the Legislative Council to assist him in the consideration of the measures urgently required to bring about a healthier state of things in the colony generally. The first object requiring attention was the relief of the local government from its financial difficulties. At the beginning of 1844, the debt of the colony, or in other words, the deficiency of means to meet current expenditure, was £24,000, and the entire revenue for the coming year was estimated at only £20,000; all salaries and ordinary current payments were several months in arrear. The establishment was reduced to the scale authorized by the Secretary of State, at the close of 1843, but the estimated revenue was inadequate to meet even two-thirds of the contemplated expenditure, and the governor was strictly prohibited from drawing bills on the British treasury to cover deficiencies.

In this emergency Governor Fitz-Roy, in accordance with the advice of the Legislative Council, resorted to measures, the expediency of which, under the peculiar circumstances of his most trying position, he has ably vindicated. In truth, he had arrived at a very critical moment, and seeing at once the necessity for prompt and decided action, he threw aside all personal considerations, and though deeply impressed with the responsibilities he thereby incurred towards her Majesty's ministers, he yet felt it his duty towards them, as towards the colonists, at once to take the course which he conscientiously believed could alone avert impending ruin.

His own words best describe the steps he felt bound to take, and their immediate consequence :—

"In order to carry on the government until assistance and directions could be received from England; to relieve the creditors of government from distress; and to keep numerous families from extreme privation, some from actually starving, it was decided to issue notes, or debentures, bearing five per cent. interest after the expiration of one year; and as these debentures were at first refused by several speculators, and therefore seemed likely to be much depreciated, they were made a legal tender. It should be noticed that this paper currency was not intended to be permanent; it was intended to serve instead of coin, during a very limited period, not exceeding two years,—before which it was probable that some arrangement would be made by the home government for their withdrawal from circulation. These debentures enabled the government to carry on its functions, and saved an extremity of disorder and distress which can hardly be appreciated by persons in an old country. Their principle has been much condemned by some theorists, (who reason about a young struggling colony without capital, as if it were really circumstanced like any portion of the parent state—supported by banks and capitalists); but since their beneficial effects were practically felt, and fully appreciated by those who might have been actually starved without them, the objections of theorists may be less regarded. As there were then no exports—the colony was drained of its small stock of specie by payments for goods and the usual necessaries of life: and scarcely any circulating medium remained except notes of the Union Bank of Australia.

"But as the issue of paper money was in direct contravention of the governor's instructions, of course he was prepared to bear the consequences. There have been many occasions, it will not be denied, on which deviations from instructions have been productive of public benefit, however indefensible according to a general rule which must be maintained. Whether this was one of such occasions, the wretched state of the colonists in New Zealand may shew. Impending ruin, and actual starvation, threatened the greater number of the working classes, and many others, at Auckland, who depended on the government expenditure. No assistance from England could be expected in less than a year.—No money could be obtained by the government, in the colony, or from Sydney, because no person would accept bills drawn by the governor without the express sanction of the Secretary of State.

"The practical effect of these debentures was not only the removal of all actual want, but the promotion of much industry, and general improvement. Instead of a complete stagnation, as at the beginning of 1844, activity and abundant employment

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, p. 77.

soon prevailed. Auckland and its vicinity improved rapidly, and an export trade began.

"The necessity under which the principal holders of debentures lay to employ them in the colony, and as speedily as possible, lest there should be any deterioration of value, induced those persons to buy up gum, flax, timber, or copper, or other native produce—to be exported as remittances to their correspondents instead of money. Some built small vessels; others improved their landed property by fences and better buildings. The results were conspicuously beneficial.

"How to raise additional revenue amidst such general poverty and distress, was most perplexing; various methods were suggested, but strongly opposed by the non-official members of council; who wished to reduce the expenditure to the revenue actually raised, however small that sum might be. At last an increase of the customs' duties was decided on—not as a good measure, but as the only one that seemed practicable.

"The governor deemed it to be his duty to endeavour to raise a revenue adequate to maintain the establishment ordered by the home government, and necessary for the public affairs of the colony. The non-official members of council considered the establishment and expenditure too large, and tried to effect such reductions as would, if made, have prevented the local government from executing the duties demanded from it, not only by the wants of the colony, but for the information of the home government, which requires numerous and voluminous documents to be prepared and transmitted in duplicate. In an old country there are so many ways of raising revenue that a selection can be made. In New Zealand, a young colony, there are very few, and it is a great object to adopt such methods as may be least open to evasion, while executed with the smallest expense. Land, if taxed, yields but little, as so little is cultivated, and the tenure of wild land has been too uncertain to admit of its being taxed. Houses, animals, imports, exports, sales, licences, deeds, and the individual members of the community, were the only objects available for taxation.

"As much censure has been cast on the propositions of the governor to tax houses, cattle, and dogs, it may not be irrelevant here to remind the reader that there were no "rates" of any kind in New Zealand, such as are paid for houses in other countries; that a house is an object easily rated or taxed, without the possibility of any evasion: and that the number of rooms in it may form an easy scale for taxing. To say, as has been asserted, that such a tax would induce people to alter the construction of houses,—when it was only to be levied for a temporary purpose, during two years at most,—was obviously incorrect.

"It was proposed to levy an impost on imported cattle, because a large importation was expected, which could not be smuggled. Their number, it was considered, would not be affected by a moderate duty. Besides which, at that time the importers of cattle could afford to pay a tax better than most people. They were chiefly persons living in New South Wales. The tax on dogs (also much blamed) was intended solely as a means of diminishing their number, which had become a nuisance. It has been said that this tax would affect sheep-feeders. There were not then half-a-dozen shepherds' dogs in New Zealand; but had there been more, it would not have signified, because the proposed tax was to affect those dogs only which were found in or about the towns: dogs used in the country being specially exempted.

"Very incorrect accounts of proceedings in that Legislative Council appeared in newspapers, and possibly they may have been thought true, however strange, by persons accustomed to the correct reporting of public proceedings in England. They were, however, very incorrect, being the results of notes in common writing (not short hand) taken by the editors or composers of the Auckland newspapers, who trusted much to memory, and frequently coloured their statements so as to suit the taste of their readers."*

The chief difficulty which impeded the efficient administration of the government, namely, the want of funds, was at the same time being experienced most severely in the Company's settlements, where the consequences of the reckless and unchecked expenditure, by the London directors, of trust funds, was at length revealed by the dishonouring of the bills drawn upon the Company by its accredited agents, the cessation of its operations, and the total withdrawal of the employment and support, the promise of which had induced so large a number of the labouring class to emigrate.

At the commencement of their difficulties, (July, 1843,) the directors, finding their old expedient for raising funds by the formation of a new settlement (New Edinburgh,) less acceptable to the public than their former projects, sought and obtained from Lord Stanley a supplemental charter, empowering them to borrow and raise, at lawful interest, any sum or sums not exceeding £500,000, upon the security and credit of any portion of the subscribed capital of the Company not called up, and of the profit of the undertaking, and of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, and other property for the time being, of the Company.

This resource proved insufficient; for letters from New Zealand, quite opposite in their tenor to those circulated through the influence of the Company, and other unprejudiced communications, were beginning to tell upon the public, notwithstanding the systematic, and it must be admitted most cleverly organized "puffing"† which was

* *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy. London, 1846,—p. 25.

† Messrs. Samuel and John Sidney, who have devoted great attention to the colonies, and whose independent conduct entitle their remarks to consideration, say, they can "personally testify that the colonizing friends of Mr. Wakefield have never stopped at any means of corruption or coercion, in order to secure a favourable notice of their speculations, and to suppress any record of, or criticism on,

kept up throughout; and on 29th February, 1844, the chairman of the Company, Mr. Somes, announced to Lord Stanley, that "the large amount of £521,000, which, since the establishment of the Company, had been placed in their hands, together with £42,500, raised by loan last year, has, with the exception of £35,082 10*s*., now invested in such a manner as not to be immediately available [it was pledged], and about £7,000 now in our banker's hands, been *entirely exhausted*."*

The Company, under these circumstances, requested her Majesty's government to become their guarantee for a loan of £100,000, which they proposed to borrow from the public, as, without that guarantee, their "power of borrowing" was completely destroyed. The directors had the assurance to offer to government, as security, the 960,000 acres to which they claimed to be entitled by the investigation of Mr. Pennington in 1840, although they had professedly sold a large part of this land to the persons who had purchased the allotments at Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth, and were besides aware that their claims to that territory, in the first instance, rested upon the extinguishment of the native titles, which was likely to prove a complicated and expensive business. This offer to *place in pawn the property of others* was not considered satisfactory by her Majesty's ministers, who declared that they could listen to no application from the Company for pecuniary assistance, except on the following conditions: — First, that such assistance should not exceed £40,000 in the whole; secondly, that it should be applied to the payment of the dishonoured bills, drawn in the colony to provide for the employment of labourers, and to the payment of such other bills as might be drawn for the same purpose, pending a report from Captain FitzRoy, as to the state of the Company's settlements; and thirdly, that the whole of the property of the Company, including that part of its capital which had not been paid up (£100,000,) and which the Company would be required to raise within a limited period, should be made liable as an available security for the repayment of such advance.†

Mr. Somes, on the part of the Company, declined to accede to these conditions, declaring, that the circumstance of the government requiring a security, in addition and in preference to the Company's land, was calculated to diminish their proper resources, (*i.e.* the credulity of the public,) by throwing discredit upon the tenure of their property, and by lowering them as a body in the public estimation; beside which, £40,000 was in itself a sum quite insufficient to meet the emergency. The practical effect of the loan, the directors affirmed, if accepted, would be to relieve—not the settlers, for the sole relief of whom the government had entertained the proposition of making one, but the Union Bank of Australia, and other parties by whom the dishonoured bills had been negotiated, for an expenditure previously incurred. The lowest sum sufficient to enable the Company to renew its colonizing operations, "till such time as the restoration of public confidence shall supply those means from the proceeds of the sale of land," was again stated at £100,000, and for this sum, a renewed application was made to the government by Mr. Somes, who followed it up by requesting, that in the event of the government declining the loan above mentioned, they would "still lend the Company the sum of £40,000, allowing it, at the same time, to borrow from the public £57,500, in addition to the £42,500 already borrowed, *conceding to the lenders of the* £57,000 *a preferable* security upon the property and assets of the Company." ‡

In reply, Lord Stanley, through Mr. Hope, expressed "extreme surprise" at being then for the first time made acquainted with the fact that the solicited

their deception and mismanagement." With regard to Mr. E. G. Wakefield himself, these writers add, "we admit the ability with which he organized systematic praise of his model colonies, and disparagement of all imagined rivals, in parliament, in the press, the '*court, the city, and the mart*:' and we can record the almost regal courtesy with which, sitting *in receipt of custom* at New Zealand House, in the palmy days of his Grand Bubble, he congratulated his enthusiastic victims on their fortunate prizes of '*corner lots and double frontages*' at Wellington and Nelson."—*Sidneys' Emigrant Journal*, Nos. 23 and 24; March, 1849.

* Documents appended to Twelfth Report of New Zealand Company, p. 9 A.

† It will be remembered that the bond debt of the Company of £42,500, was also a lien on the £100,000 not paid up by the shareholders; and as to the lands belonging to the Company, the directors acknowledged to Lord Stanley, on 20th February, 1844, that they were then, "in the eyes of the public, perfectly valueless, and they could raise no money by mortgaging them."—Documents in Twelfth Report, p. 9 A.

‡ Appendix to Twelfth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 23 A.

advance, if granted, *would not* benefit the settlers, and that all the evils against it, which it was asked to protect them were irremediable, he declined "the discussion of any further propositions until a report of the state of affairs should be received from Captain Fitz-Roy. In this communication there are assertions which deserve notice, as they have remained quite uncontradicted by the Company, namely,—

"That the whole advance of money made by the Company on their own account, amounted only to £200,000, that on this the Company had received and distributed in the shape of dividends no less than £44,000, exclusive of the sums laid out in very extensive establishments, both at home and in the colony; that, exclusive of a claim to have confirmed to them the title to many hundred thousand acres of lands, *understood to have been purchased by them in New Zealand*, the Company were in possession of assets (some of which, however, were not immediately available) to the extent of £42,000, while their debt did not exceed a similar amount, and that there remained £100,000 of unpaid-up capital."*

Lord Stanley, in the above passage, adverts to "the very extensive establishments both at home and abroad" maintained by the Company; he might have used stronger language with equal justice, for perhaps a more inexcusable course of expenditure, both general and particular; wholesale "jobbery" and misappropriation of monies invested or intrusted for special purposes, never disgraced a public association, yet in an early report of the directors (1st of May, 1841), it had been ostentatiously proclaimed that "the practical details of systematic arrangements for emigration will be *much more cheaply and efficiently executed* by the representatives of such a body as this, than by the executive government:" and in the prospectus issued in May, 1839, to attract shareholding capitalists, the public were assured that "*the Company is capable of being managed at little expense for agency.*"

Both these vaunts were belied by facts, for the emigration was conducted at an enormous expense, but in a most unsatisfactory manner; and the practical working of the Company, even by their own shewing, was on an exaggerated and very costly scale.

It appears that up to the period when the Company declared itself bankrupt, it had actually sold land to the public as follows:—in *Wellington* settlement, 990 town, and 126,800 rural acres = 127,790 acres; in the *New Plymouth* settlement, 282½ town, 3,600 suburban, and 9,550 rural acres = 13,432½ acres; in the *Nelson* settlement, 432 town, 21,600 suburban, and 64,800 rural acres = 86,832 acres. The total in the three settlements was, town, 1,704; suburban, 25,200; rural, 191,150; grand total, 218,054 acres. These figures are derived from the accounts appended by the Company to their twelfth report, from which we also gather that the amounts acquired by the Company in the sale of this land, was,—at Wellington, £120,040; at New Plymouth, £26,560, and at Nelson, £129,600; total, 276,200. Thus the Company obtained from the public upwards of a quarter of a million sterling, for less than a twentieth part of the territory, over which they had professedly obtained an unimpeachable title from its native proprietors, for about £1,500, (see div. v., p. 158).

Doubtless, had this purchase, in the first instance, been to any extent real, instead of nominal, the commercial speculation, which it should be borne in mind was avowedly the sole object of the New Zealand Company, would have proved a very profitable scheme; as it was, the results have been anything but satisfactory to the shareholders in general, and ruinous to a large and highly respectable portion of the land purchasers.

In addition to the money received for sales of land, the Company acquired funds for passage money, freight, forfeited deposits, and other sources, amounting to £37,225; £10,000 was raised on loan; £32,500 on debentures, and £200,000 was the amount paid up by the shareholders; the total sum therefore of which the directors had the expenditure, up to 14th of February, 1844, exceeded half-a-million sterling; viz., £563,924.†

To trace this expenditure in a satisfactory manner is not possible, from the confused, often contradictory, and excessively diffuse style of the published accounts of the Company; items that ought to be distinctly specified, are jumbled up with others, as if on purpose to preclude investigation. The "*home establishment*," is put down under six items, at £37,574, *i.e.*, for five years at the rate of more than *seven thousand pounds* annually; the emigration service, viz., the hire of ships and incidental expenses, is put down at £185,760, which, at £12 a head, would have conveyed more than 15,000 men, women and children of the labouring

* Appendix to Twelfth Report of New Zealand Company, p. 25 A.

† Documents appended to Twelfth Report of Directors of New Zealand Company, p. 32 A.

class to New Zealand.* The "miscellaneous" items are grouped together to the large amount of £118,435, and the colonial expenses are stated at the enormous sum of £184,371, or at the rate of more than £36,000 for *each* of the five years, irrespective of the civil, military, and naval expenditure incurred by the Crown.

Among the items of the "home establishment," the charge for "advertising and printing, books, maps, &c.," is put down at £7,788, or more than £1,500 per annum; the law expenses and professional services are quoted at £6,597; stationery, postages, &c., at £4,414; rent, taxes, furniture, &c., at £6,027.

It appears also that some person received £7,780 as "commission on the sale of land."†

The dividends to the proprietors on £100,000 capital for four years, and on a similar amount for less than three years, are put down at £44,264. The purchase of lands, including the ship *Tory* and her investment, is stated at £60,815, but to whom this money was actually paid it is not possible to ascertain. Mr. Pennington says, in April, 1841, that the New Zealand Land Company "paid and contracted to pay £20,000 to the New Zealand Company of 1825, for the lands acquired by that Company by purchase from the native chiefs, and they have likewise paid to the New Zealand Association of 1839, the sum of £40,000 for all the rights, interests, and lands which that association had acquired, or *might become entitled to* in New Zealand, and for the ship *Tory* and her cargo then on the outward voyage to that colony."‡ The value of the *Tory*§ was estimated at £9,000, and her cargo at £6,000 = £15,000, leaving £25,000 to be appropriated among the New Zealand Association of 1839, who, there is every reason to believe, were nearly identical with the New Zealand Company of 1840.

As an illustration of the annual rate of expenditure, the chief items of the year ending 5th of April, 1842, may be quoted, under the heads given in the Company's accounts:—||

| | |
|---|---|
| Salaries, colonial and home establishments, outfit of colonial officers, and allowances for services | £10,127 |
| *Commission on sale of land* | 3,201 |
| Bills drawn from New Zealand | 9,984 |
| Advertising, printing, books, and stationery | 2,602 |
| Rent, taxes, law charges, postages, house and incidental expenses | 3,471 |
| Furniture | 136 |
| Passage of emigrants, their maintenance previous to embarkation, and incidental expenses connected therewith | 68,591 |
| Provisions, stores, &c. | 9,194 |
| Dividends to proprietors | 15,842 |

The New Zealand Company, in the spring of 1844, found themselves in an equally embarrassed and considerably more discreditable position than that from which they had been relieved by the grant of a charter three years before. It was hopeless to continue urging upon the government that their title to lands had been admitted solely in consideration of their expenditure on colonizing purposes, after the explicit and emphatic denial which this unfounded assertion had received,—Mr. Hope, on the part of the colonial minister, having informed Mr. Somes that—

"Lord Stanley cannot now permit it to be maintained either that the natives had no proprietary rights, in the face of the Company's declaration that they had purchased those very rights, or that it is the duty of the Crown either to extinguish those rights, or to set them aside in favour of the Company. The fact of the validity or invalidity of the purchase was known to the Company, and to them alone; the assumed validity was the basis of the promised grant; and if the facts were incorrectly stated at the time, or were incapable of proof, with the Company must rest the inconvenience and loss resulting from their own mis-statements."¶

The Company being therefore in a condition, with all to gain and nothing to lose, directed their parliamentary influence once again to obtain a committee of inves-

* One instance will shew the reckless manner in which the emigration expenses were incurred: of six ships taken up for the New Plymouth settlement, the cost was £30 18*s*. per statute adult, irrespective of the victualling of the passengers, which was paid for at the rate of 1*s*. 3*d*. per head daily, or about £8 15*s*. Altogether the charge for each emigrant was nearly £40, or more than twice the sum which ought to have been paid. It should also be stated that the accommodation and general conduct of these vessels was far from being commensurate with the extraordinary cost.

† For these and other details see Appendix to Report from Select Committee of the House of Commons on New Zealand, in 1844, p. 393.

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 4, 5.

§ The *Tory* was lost (I believe, on or near the coast of New Zealand), and the New Zealand Company received £9,220 as insurance on her.

|| See Fifth Report of New Zealand Company, Appendix B, p. 35.

¶ Appendix to Report from Select Committee on New Zealand, 1844; p. 21.

tigation on the state of New Zealand. This time the result was more favourable to them, for after much discussion, the majority of the committee adopted a Report, which, though it commenced with the declaration "that the conduct of the New Zealand Company, in sending out settlers to New Zealand, not only without the sanction, but in direct defiance of the authority of the Crown, was highly irregular and improper," went on to disapprove of the treaty of Waitangi, and still more the view of it acted upon by the local authorities, and proceeded to assume to the Crown a right of sovereignty and disposal limited by little beyond such right of property as might be conceded to the native inhabitants in favour of those spots on which they had placed their pahs or planted their vegetables,* and declared that the New Zealand Company had a right to demand from the Crown a certain number of acres, "without reference to the validity or otherwise of its supposed purchases from the natives."

The difficulty of how the Crown was to obtain the land it was thus advised to make over to the Company, was met by a proposition of confiscating it, in the first instance, by the imposition of a land tax, to be paid in advance. A counter-report was proposed and moved by the under-secretary of state for the colonies (Mr. Hope), which contained a lucid statement of the difficulties and dangers likely to result from the course proposed: but he was in the minority.

Mr. Cardwell (one of the lords of the treasury under Sir Robert Peel) also proposed a series of resolutions in favour of the policy pursued by the colonial office, which was likewise rejected by a majority of one. Among his recommendations was the following, which it is to be hoped will yet be adopted, viz.:—"that it would be expedient to admit native chiefs, and others, into the military and civil service of the colony."

The government, notwithstanding the report of the select committee, persisted in adhering to the conclusion which it had adopted respecting the validity of the rights of the natives, and was supported by a majority of the House of Commons in its determination, after a debate, originated by the late Mr. Charles Buller (the legal adviser of the Company), which lasted three days; and on 30th November, 1844, Lord Stanley expressed to Governor Fitz-Roy his general approval of the course adopted, and of the tone taken by him in reference to the various subjects by which, on his arrival, he had found the community distracted. His lordship referred particularly to—

"The strong sense of justice, and the earnest desire of reconciling differences by an effectual and authoritative mediation which appear to have influenced your conduct; to the boldness and promptitude with which you have promulgated and enforced your views, and met, by decided measures, the emergencies of your embarrassing position.

"If, in these circumstances, you have been compelled to overstep the letter of your instructions, I find sufficient vindication for your course in the necessity for prompt and efficient action, and in the impossibility, within a reasonable period, of obtaining my sanction to your proceedings. When her Majesty's government selected you to fill a very laborious, responsible, and ill-remunerated office, in a very distant colony, they were fully aware that the discharge of your duties would be impossible unless the largest discretion were left to you; and they felt that they had the best guarantee for your conduct in your high personal and public character, and in your peculiar fitness, at that time acknowledged by all parties most interested, for the post which was assigned you."†

At the time this despatch was written, the critical state of affairs in New Zealand had induced Governor Fitz-Roy to adopt measures which rendered him still more obnoxious to the Company, and which, though taken from a sense of imperative necessity, were yet beyond, if not in contradiction, to the instructions he had received from her Majesty's ministers. Two causes of immediate anxiety, affording unmistakable indications of the growing disaffection of the natives towards the government, as well as towards the settlers generally, were made known to him at the close of the sitting of the Legislative Council in July, 1844. The former of these may be best related in the words of the first bishop of the diocese of New Zealand, Dr. Selwyn, who arrived at Auckland in 1842. In a letter addressed to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he says—"About the middle of the year 1844, the flag-staff on the hill above Kororarika [Russell] began to be talked of as a sign of the assumption of New Zealand by

* *Vide* the comments on the Report of the Select Committee of 1844, in an admirable essay *On the British Colonization of New Zealand by the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society*, p. 26; and also in a pamphlet by Mr. Dandeson Coates, entitled *The New Zealanders and their Lands.*

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845 page 49.

the British government. * * * Meetings began to be held, at which John Heké* was the chief speaker, the subject of discussion being the cutting down of the flag-staff. In the month of August, 1844, Heké assembled a party of armed men, and proceeded to Kororarika, where he spent Saturday and part of Sunday in alarming the inhabitants, and early on Monday morning mounted the hill, and cut down the staff. I was at Paihia [a mission station near Kororarika] at the time, engaged in the native school, at the close of which the first words I heard were, 'Kua hinga te kara,' 'the colour has fallen.' I shuddered at the thought of this beginning of hostilities, so full of presage of evil for the future. Heké then crossed to Paihia, and, with his party, danced the war-dance in my face; after which, many violent speeches were made, and they then returned to Kaikoke [Heké's pah, or village]." On intelligence of Heké's proceedings being received by Captain Fitz-Roy, he immediately made application to the governor of New South Wales for troops, and sent thirty men from the small detachment stationed at the capital to Russell, with directions to the police magistrate to replace the flag-staff, and to persevere in temperate and conciliatory measures until self-defence should render hostility unavoidable. The other tidings which reached him, almost at the same time, were, that very serious disturbances had taken place at New Plymouth, in consequence of Mr. Spain's having decided against the natives, in favour of the New Zealand Company's claims to the land comprised in the plan of that settlement. The governor proceeded thither by sea, and was met by the bishop, who had travelled overland from Auckland in only seven days (the usual time being a fortnight), to assist in restoring tranquillity. Here, again, it may be best to give Captain Fitz-Roy's own relation of his conduct and motives in this difficult and complicated business:—

"It appeared so clear to the governor that the view taken by the commissioner could not be adopted by the government without causing bloodshed, and the probable ruin of the settlement; because the injustice of awarding land to the New Zealand Company, which was well known not to have been purchased by them, was apparent to every native, that information was made known publicly at a large meeting of the settlers and natives, that the commissioner's award would not be confirmed by the governor.

"Arrangements were then commenced for securing the actual settlers in quiet possession of sufficient land; the natives being desirous that they should not quit the place, but determined not to sell them certain favourite localities. The substance of the case was this—the New Zealand Company's agents had endeavoured to buy a large tract of land from a few persons who owned about a thirtieth part of it, the great majority of the proprietors being then absent. When the absentees returned to their own places, after a few years, they found white men settled there and cultivating. Of course the few (about forty) who professed to sell to the Company's agents could not dispose of that which belonged to the absentees (many hundreds in number), therefore their land was forthwith demanded by them. However much this case may have been complicated or mystified by appeals to other laws than those of the New Zealanders themselves, the above will be found the simple fact. It may be asked what Englishman would give up his land under analogous circumstances, if sold without his authority during his absence? But, say some persons, these natives who returned to claim land occupied by settlers, were or had been slaves, and therefore they had no right to this land. Strange doctrine this to be held by Englishmen! These men had been made prisoners of war—captives rather than slaves—by the Waikato tribe, who, at the instigation of Christian teachers, gave them their liberty, and permission to return to their own land.

"Would an Englishman, after some years' confinement in a French prison, or being enslaved by Africans, admit that he had forfeited his estate in England? But even the New Zealand usages, which in this case are more to the purpose, do not prevent a man who has been captured (or a slave) from owning and retaining land."†—(See div. v. p. 170.)

Mr. Spain, in vindicating the grounds on which he formed the decision thus set aside by Governor Fitz-Roy, for the reasons above stated, says—

"I am fully of opinion that the admission of the right of slaves‡ who had been absent for a long period of years, to return at any time and claim their right to land that had belonged to them previously to their being taken prisoners of war, and which before their return, and when they were in slavery, had been sold by the conquerors§ and resident natives to third parties, would establish a most dangerous doctrine, calculated to throw doubts upon almost every European title to land in this country, not even excepting some of the purchases made by the Crown; would constantly expose every title to

* This chief, who afterwards obtained so much notoriety, was then of inferior rank, and thought to possess but inconsiderable influence: he had, however, married the daughter of the celebrated E'Ongi, or Shongi, herself a remarkable woman, by whom he had had several children, who, like himself and his wife, were baptized in the Christian faith.

† *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy, pp. 29, 30.

‡ According to Captain Fitz-Roy the absentees in question were *captives* but not *slaves*.

§ Governor Hobson (after the purchase of the Taranaki District from its few actual inhabitants) had paid a certain sum to the chief of the Waikato tribe, in satisfaction of his claims as conqueror.

be questioned by any returned slave who might assert a former right to the land, let the period be ever so remote, and would prove a source of endless litigation and disagreement between the two races."*

Leaving New Plymouth, the governor, accompanied by the bishop, proceeded to Auckland, and from thence to the Bay of Islands, being anxious to meet the troops then daily expected from Sydney. One hundred and fifty men had arrived and disembarked; fifty were added from the detachment at Auckland; and H.M.S. *Hazard* had fifty seamen and marines ready to land: the force being, in all, but two hundred and fifty. Previous to making a decided movement towards Kaikoke (Heké's stronghold), several meetings were held with the natives by the governor, to whom it appeared so obvious that the main cause of their discontent was the deserted state of the once crowded port, owing chiefly to the customs' regulations, that he determined to remove this root of evil, and forthwith took upon himself the responsibility of closing the custom-house. The troops were then moved to the Keri-keri river, and were about to debark and march inland, when Mr. Clarke, the chief protector of aborigines, arrived as the bearer of an urgent request to the governor, from a large majority of the head chiefs, not to land the troops, but to accept from them an acknowledgment of Heké's delinquency, and a pledge that such outrages should not be repeated. The governor complied, and proceeded, attended only by the senior military and naval officers, to the missionary station at Waimate, where, in the presence of the bishop and several of the clergy, he addressed a large concourse of natives, and explained to them clearly and fully the intentions of the British government. The chiefs offered, in atonement for Heké's offence, to forfeit land or property; but the governor declined to take land, and demanded only ten muskets, in acknowledgment of the insult. More than the required number were instantly laid at his feet by some of the oldest and most influential chiefs, to whom they were returned, to show that no desire existed to punish the well-disposed for the faults of their relative, or even to deprive them of their weapons. The return of the muskets has been sneered at as a piece of Quixotic chivalry; but, in the opinions of some of those best acquainted with the native character, it is believed to have had a permanent effect in determining the conduct of Walker, Nene, Patuone, Tawhai, Taonui, and other actors in that scene, who have since proved most trusty and powerful allies to the British government. Heké, however, stood aloof from the meeting, but was subsequently persuaded—almost compelled to write an apology for his conduct. The additional troops then returned to Sydney, in accordance with the especial desire of Sir George Gipps, that they should be retained no longer than the particular emergency for which they had been sent should require.

In the month of October, Governor Fitz-Roy, who had previously waived the Crown's right of pre-emption, and permitted individuals to purchase land of the natives, on the payment of a fee of ten shillings an acre, finding that that sum, in most instances, exceeded the price paid to the natives, and virtually acted as a prohibition, reduced it to an almost nominal one, sufficient only to cover the expenses of legal documents (one penny per acre.) This measure was very gratifying to the aboriginal population, and peace seemed restored, but was again seriously interrupted. In December, the report of the committee of the House of Commons on the state of New Zealand, recorded July, 1844, reached the colony, and soon became known to the natives, who evinced great indignation on learning the opinion of members of the Imperial Legislature respecting the treaty of Waitangi, and their recommendations with respect to the so-called waste land of the islands. Symptoms of disaffection became daily more apparent, and a number of turbulent young men, encouraged by Heké, carried off horses under vague pretences. Threats were held out that the obnoxious flag-staff should not remain; and early in January, Heké went by night and cut it down. It was not then guarded, except by a party of natives, who, on hearing of Heké's intention, stated at first that they would oppose him, but subsequently declared they would not be the first to shed blood on account of a piece of wood. Heké departed unmolested, after sending word to the magistrate at Kororarika (Russell), that in two months he would return to destroy the gaol and custom-house, and to send away the officers of government.

On learning what had occurred, Governor Fitz-Roy dispatched the *Hazard* with a

* Vide Reports of Commissioners of Land Claims on Titles to Land in New Zealand. Parliamentary Papers, April, 1846, p. 63.

small detachment of troops, all that could be spared from Auckland, with a musket-proof block-house to be erected at the flag-staff. The settlers were armed and drilled; a strong stockade was erected, as a place of safety for the women and children, and some small guns were mounted. No anxiety as to the result of an attack was entertained, but on the contrary, far too low an opinion of native enterprise and valour prevailed.*

Parties of armed natives, to the number of several hundred, assembled in the neighbourhood of Kororarika during the first few days of March, 1845, and commenced hostilities by attacking and plundering the house of a settler, near the Kawakawa river. The *Hazard's* pinnace, armed with a gun in the bow, pursued the party and drove them ashore, from whence a fire was opened upon the boat by the fugitives, who had concealed themselves in the brushwood. These were the first shots fired. They were returned, but without effect, by the pinnace, which then proceeded to the ship.

For several days after this, the natives were evidently gathering their forces, and desultory skirmishes took place, but without occasioning loss of life on either side. Heké announced his determination to attack Kororarika, the day on which it was to be done, and even the particulars of his plan for the assault. At day-break, on the 11th of March, Captain Robertson, R.N., at the head of a party of seamen and marines, went out to reconnoitre a valley leading to Matavai Bay, through which the attack was expected to be made, and met a large body of natives advancing with that intent. An engagement immediately began, in which the natives were repulsed; but a party of the Maories, who had been lying in ambush, cut off Captain Robertson from the main body of his men; and a native coming within a few paces of him, fired a shot, which shattered his thigh. At this time he was surrounded by the enemy, but his men rallied and rescued him, and he was carried off to his ship. The flag-staff was soon after taken by the enemy, and the block-house was captured by surprise, (the officer in command having drawn off the men to some distance to strengthen the entrenchments.) The keeper of the signals was severely wounded; his wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and conducted to Heké, who sent them down with a flag of truce to the nearest English post; the party of natives who conducted them remaining within gun shot till they saw the woman and child safely lodged.

It was apprehended that the natives, having possession of both ends of the town, and the command of all the paths along the hills, would collect their forces, and make a simultaneous attack upon the points still remaining in the possession of the English. It was therefore deemed necessary to remove the women and children from the stockade or fortified houses, which was accomplished by the boats belonging to the vessels in the harbour, which conveyed them, together with the wounded, on board the ships, the natives offering no opposition. One woman alone remained by her own desire to attend to those who might be wounded. About two hours afterwards the powder magazine exploded, shattering the house to pieces, and causing a fire by which the whole was totally destroyed. The brave woman, before mentioned, fell under the ruins, and was removed to the ship with a dangerous fracture.

An evacuation of the place was then determined upon, and the whole population were safely embarked on board the *Hazard*, the *St. Louis* (United States frigate), and the *Matilda* (English whaler), after which the natives plundered and burned the town, leaving only the churches and the houses of the missionaries standing.

On the British side thirteen were killed and twenty-three wounded, some of whom afterwards died of their wounds. Of the natives, thirty-four were known to have been killed and at least sixty-eight wounded.†

Bishop Selwyn, who was present at the destruction of Kororarika, and whose conduct on that occasion was worthy the character of a truly Christian minister, has given a most interesting narrative of the events connected with it; his description of the conduct of the natives especially deserves the attention of all who desire to understand the character of this singular and deeply interesting race. He says,—

"The state of the town after the withdrawal of the troops was very characteristic. The natives carried on their work of plunder with perfect composure; neither quarrelling among themselves, nor resenting any attempt on the part of the English to recover portions of their property. Several of the people of the town landed in the midst of them, and

* Captain Fitz-Roy's *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 38.

† See Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, 1845; p. 6.

were allowed to carry off such things as were not particularly desired by the spoilers. With sorrow I observed that many of the natives were wheeling off casks of spirits, but they listened patiently to my remonstrances, and in one instance, they allowed me to turn the cock, and let the liquor run out on the ground. * * * Altogether there must have been about 500 men [natives] on the ground. * * * On the way [from Paihia, whither the Bishop had gone to inter the bodies of some of the slain, to the Waimate,] one of those circumstances occurred which mark, more than words can express, the confidence with which the old settlers live among the natives of the country. I had gone about half-way to the Waimate when I met a settler from Hokianga, riding quietly down to the Bay, with one native behind him, to learn the particulars of the engagement. He had come thirty miles through the country from which Hekê's forces were drawn, and was going to the scene of action, and I afterwards met him returning by the same route without the slightest apprehension of danger. The truth is, that there is something in the native character which disarms personal fears in those who live among them and are acquainted with their proceedings. All suspicions of treachery seem to be at variance with the openness and simplicity of their proceedings. * * * From a hill near the Waimate the whole outline of the town could be seen, lighted up by the blaze of the burning houses. My approach to the station was greeted by a large body of Christian natives, with a louder and heartier shout of welcome [Haere mai!] than I had ever heard before. They invited me to a general meeting, at which all the principal persons expressed their determination to defend the missionaries and their families to the last, and begged me earnestly not to think of removing them. Their feeling was responded to by Mr. and Mrs. Burrows and Mr. and Mrs. Davis, the missionaries of the station, who had resolved to stand firm, in the assurance that the same Power which had guarded the mission through thirty years of trial and anxiety, would defend it to the end. The native school, which I left with only thirty children, had thriven in the midst of the troubled times, and had risen to seventy. No sooner was it heard that I was in the house, than a stream of little children flowed down from the bed-rooms in the upper story, their black eyes and white teeth sparkling in the candle-light as they crowded about me, with smiling faces, to shake me by the hand. As some of the Christian natives remarked, "Though the heavens were black around us, this was the bright spot of blue sky, which gave hopes that the storm would soon pass away."*

When the three ships which conveyed the refugees from Kororarika were seen in the offing, the Auckland people welcomed their arrival most joyfully, supposing they brought troops from Sydney, or perhaps from England. Their hopes were changed to deep forebodings when the truth became known; but the disappointment did not check their endeavours for the benefit of the unfortunates thus thrown upon their charity, and every exertion was made to succour the wounded and provide for the pressing wants of the destitute refugees, about 400 in number.

It was now thought advisable at once to raise a militia, a measure which the home government had from the first enjoined upon Governor Fitz-Roy, but though proposed in the previous year (1844), his excellency had agreed with the legislative council in the propriety of deferring the enactment of a militia ordinance, as highly objectionable on the grounds of its being calculated to raise the suspicions of the natives, and quite inadequate to overawe them; as likely to prove most inconvenient to the widely-scattered settlers, and moreover, as being barely practicable, because there were not 400 stand of serviceable arms in the colony, and very little ammunition, while the local government had not the means of buying either arms, ammunition, clothes, or accoutrements, or even of paying adjutants or drill serjeants. These and other considerations had therefore made the council unanimous in postponing the militia bill; but in the following year, when one settlement had been destroyed, and the attack of others was threatened, the case was totally changed, and it became imperative to resort to every possible expedient in self-defence.

The sudden demand for Kauri gum, in which the northern part of the island abounds, happened providentially at this particular time, when the attention of the natives were most required to be drawn off from thoughts of Heké's exploits, and the plunder he had acquired; while it also gave immediate employment to numbers of suffering settlers, who must otherwise have been dependent upon their compassionate neighbours. Yet this good was not unmixed with evil. The natives obtained large supplies of ammunition in exchange for their gum; and although loyal natives were usually the direct traders, no doubt much found its way through their relatives to the rebels.†

The destruction of Kororarika, and the consequent stoppage of trade in the Bay of Islands by the natives' own act, had given a different aspect to the question of raising a revenue by direct taxation, or by a custom-house establishment, and the attempt to raise a revenue by direct taxation had failed in the southern settlements, where evasion was almost general, on the plea that until

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, pp. 193 to 197.

† *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 43.

the settlers obtained legal titles to their lands they could not be considered to have either property or income. "To enforce the payment of their just rates or taxes, it would have been necessary for the government to enter into legal proceedings against half the landholders at New Plymouth, and against nearly all those of Wellington and Nelson."* The custom-houses and their officers were therefore re-established, but on a much reduced scale, not exceeding one-half of their expense in 1843. Farther reductions in the estimated annual expenditure of the colony were proposed by the governor, and adopted by the Legislative Council. The estimated expenditure for 1845-6 was £26,000. The estimate for 1844-5 had been £36,000; that for 1842, in Governor Hobson's time, it will be remembered, was £56,000. These reductions were partly consequent on the termination of an expensive land claims commission; partly effected by reducing salaries, and partly by the alterations in the establishment for the collection of customs.

It again becomes necessary to revert to the proceedings of the New Zealand Company. In all their settlements great suffering and general depression had been caused by their sudden and unexpected declaration of insolvency: they dishonoured the bills drawn upon them in pursuance of their own instructions, and abruptly and without compensation broke up all contracts, to the great injury of many persons in their employ; yet at that very time they appear, by their own statement of accounts, to have had about £15,000 available at the Wellington and Nelson Banks, an amount which would probably have sufficed to satisfy the lawful claims of the contractors and other injured parties, including even those of the natives. Long before this crisis all classes of the Company's settlers had felt more or less painfully, according to the varying circumstances of their position, the cruel disappointment which a too credulous belief in its promises had entailed upon them. The case of the labourers who had been induced to emigrate on the positive pledge of being provided with constant employment at a fixed price in the event of their being unable to obtain better remuneration elsewhere, is alone sufficient to affix a lasting stigma on any association, however high the social standing of its real or nominal directors.

* *Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 45.

The manner in which the poor emigrants were treated at Nelson has been already described (see p. 205.) As a sample of what they endured at the other settlements, it needs only to quote the following extract of a letter from Mr. J. T. Wicksteed, Resident Agent of the Company at New Plymouth, to Colonel Wakefield, dated 31st October, 1843:—

"You are aware that the emigrants to this settlement hold what they call 'embarkation orders,' being a sort of hand-bill signed 'Thomas Woolcombe,' in which it is distinctly stated, that the Company 'will, *at all times, give them employment in the service of the Company, if, from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere.*' Being unable to give any other interpretation to this promise than the words quoted seem to imply; and yet bearing in mind, that *the Court of Directors view their engagement in a different light, I endeavoured to evade it, by sending the applicants for employment a long distance from home, making no allowance for time spent in the journey, or for time lost in bad weather.* The necessities of the men and their families were such as compelled them to submit for several weeks to these conditions; but many came home sick, and claimed the promised medical aid; and others commenced the trade of pig and sheep stealing, not having yet had time to raise potatoes for themselves. It then appeared to me, that the parties were really 'destitute,' and I endeavoured to find employment for them from the landowners, by paying their wages in part. * * * *

"Looking at the stringent instructions of the Court (of Directors) not to admit the 'claim' of anybody who had once found work with a private individual to a re-engagement with the Company, I should deem it my duty to adopt the same rule with the whole population, were it safe to do so. The Company possesses a very valuable property here in houses, stores, boats, &c., which would assuredly be destroyed, did I refuse to recognise claims on the Company for employment or support. The private houses and stores would also be plundered."

On the 30th of April, 1845, Lord Stanley signified to Governor Fitz-Roy her Majesty's disallowance of the ordinance authorizing the issue of debentures to the amount of £15,000, and making the same a legal tender, on the grounds that the local legislature in passing it had assumed a power they did not really possess, and that the ordinance itself was a direct infringement of a principle "co-extensive in its operation with the colonial possessions of the British Crown." A despatch bearing the same date conveyed to the governor his recal, for reasons which were stated at considerable length by Lord Stanley in a communication dated May 14, 1845. The general causes assigned, were, "the defects in circumspection, firmness, and punctuality" which had occurred during his administration, and the repeated infringement of his instructions.

The more specific grounds of complaint were, the want of punctuality in acquainting her Majesty's ministers with his proceedings, the making paper money a legal tender, permitting the natives to sell land without a concurrent fee to the government, the temporary abolition of the custom duties, and other measures, of which the government had probably heard a most exaggerated account through the various organs of the New Zealand Company. In conclusion, Lord Stanley reiterated his sense of Captain Fitz-Roy's claims to the most implicit confidence in his personal character, and his zeal for the Queen's service, assuring him "with how general a consent" the House of Commons had acquiesced in the opinion expressed by him (Lord Stanley) in the subjoined paragraph of his dispatch of the 30th of April, when quoted by Mr. Hope in his place in that house:—

"The concern with which I announce this decision is greatly enhanced by the remembrance of the public spirit and disinterestedness with which you assumed this arduous duty, and of the personal sacrifices which you so liberally made on that account; nor can I omit to record, that in whatever other respect our confidence in you may have have been shaken, her Majesty's government retain the most implicit reliance on your personal character, and on your zeal for the Queen's service. You will, therefore, readily believe, that I have acted on this occasion in reluctant submission to what I regard as an indispensable public duty."

The announcement of Governor Fitz-Roy's recal, although, as before stated, it bore the date 30th of April, was not dispatched until the 29th of May, his explanations of the extreme and pressing emergencies which had induced him to infringe his instructions, arrived at the Colonial Office only a few days later.

In an able vindication of his conduct addressed to Lord Stanley, and dated November, 1845, the recalled governor alludes to this circumstance. He writes,—

"Your Lordship kindly expresses anxiety to find an apology for such of my acts as you were not able to approve; but my own explanations of the reasons of those acts were not then before you. I cannot say that they would have been satisfactory under the circumstances of that period, but I think that a few days' delay would not have been ill bestowed on an honest and hard-working public servant. * * * I acknowledge most fully the obligation under which I lay to take my 'measures circumspectly, to pursue them with firmness, and to report them with punctuality.'

"Of my circumspection, only those could then judge fairly who were on the spot; but now your Lordship may also be enabled to form an opinion from recent events—at that time only threatening. Of my firmness in pursuing one main object, that of endeavouring to promote the welfare of the colony, and to prevent the white and coloured races from coming into collision, while the white race was entirely in the power of the coloured, your Lordship may be aware, now that the real power of the natives, and the truly precarious state of our countrymen is becoming at last understood, and fully acknowledged. I thought, as I still think, all matters of ordinary arrangement; such as the mode of raising revenue, or the description of circulating medium, altogether inferior in importance to that question on which, in New Zealand, to the present hour, every thing depends: namely, the relations between the two races.

"That I have not reported my proceedings with punctuality, has been a natural consequence of the distance of New Zealand from England, the uncertainty of communication, the months that had elapsed at times without the means of sending letters, the delays at Sydney, and my own absence from some part whence a vessel sailed.

"It appears to have been overlooked at the Colonial Office that vessels sail from one port of New Zealand without their being always previously mentioned at other ports. A month is usually required to obtain a reply from Wellington to a letter written at Auckland, and *vice versâ*. But as every vessel, however small, conveys the latest local paper from one port to another, intelligence is often carried by such means unknown to the officers of government."

After adverting to the necessity he was under to visit Cook's Straits three times during the first ten months of his residence in the colony (which visits occupied together a period of eighteen weeks), and to the disturbances which had compelled his presence at New Plymouth, and at the Bay of Islands; he adds, that as it was impossible for him to move actively, and endeavour to prevent fatal disasters by personal influence, and at the same time employ himself in preparing sufficient accounts for the home government, he had been compelled to choose between two alternatives, and preferred acting first and afterwards writing. Alluding to the intricacies of the New Zealand question, all the bearings of which "a volume would not suffice to shew distinctly," he remarks:—

"In few words I may here remind your Lordship that the British Government has undertaken to deal with the numerous and well-armed descendants—the formidable 'fragments' [Toenga] as they express themselves, of a nation formerly half-civilized, of whose customs they still retain indelible traces, and to whose laws they still adhere with pertinacity, though they can now give no reason for them, except that their ancestors observed them. The 'Ritenga Maori,' or native 'Common Law,' cannot be set aside by force or hastily. Christianity has done much—strictly just conduct on our part may also do much towards civilizing the New Zealanders: but injustice or oppression will drive them back into utter barbarism."

After explaining the causes of his "ap-

parent vacillation of purpose," Captain Fitz-Roy adds,—

"While appearing to vacillate, I was firm to my purposes—of preventing collision between the white and coloured races, and of mitigating the distresses of many colonists, while endeavouring to promote the progress of others. From these objects neither slander, abuse, nor misrepresentation could divert me; and I acknowledge distinctly that I considered all other objects inferior to these. I looked at the totally exposed and defenceless state of all the settlements, without walls, stockades, or any kind of efficient protection, without even a place of refuge for women and children. I remembered the destruction in Chili of seven Spanish towns in one night by Aboriginal natives, far inferior to the New Zealanders in arms and warlike qualities, and I reflected on the inutility of fiscal arrangements, should our settlers be similarly destroyed. The colonists' houses being generally of wood, and scattered over the country in the most unguarded manner, there was absolutely no kind of security against fire and plunder; except the influence of respect and good feeling, of friendship and self-interest. But this would have ceased at once had a serious dispute, or an act of decided injustice on the part of the government taken place. Even now, with ships of war and troops at hand, the security of the settlers is very precarious, depending entirely on contingencies which cannot be foreseen."

That the New Zealand Company had used every exertion to bring censure and obloquy upon Governor Fitz-Roy,* as they had formerly done upon Governor Hobson and Acting-Governor Shortland, there can be little doubt. Their influence was employed in so systematic and organized a manner, that, directed to a right end, it might have produced great good, instead of being made the means of perverting truth and circulating falsehood. Captain Fitz-Roy, in a despatch dated October, 1845, says, "as it appears certain that the combined efforts of persons interested in the New Zealand Company have injured me most deeply, I may remind your lordship that three, if not four, colonial newspapers are violent advocates of that company; that the statements of those papers, *known in the colony to be false*, are repeated with various exaggerations in London newspapers; and that ever since I was found to be sincere in my endeavours to act honestly towards the natives, for the safety of the settlers, as well as from principle, there has been an unceasing endeavour to make me resign, or get me recalled."†

In the spring of 1845, the Company made a desperate effort to reopen a negotiation with the government, and on the 1st of May the directors, as a preliminary step, adopted a resolution to the effect that this court, being "sensible of the extreme delicacy and importance of the present position of the Company's affairs, deems it advisable that the practical proceedings now to be adopted, should be entrusted in a spirit of unlimited confidence to a small number of its members. That the undermentioned gentlemen be therefore appointed a secret committee, with full authority to conduct and conclude any arrangement which they may deem most expedient, namely: Mr. Somes, M.P. (Governor); Mr. Aglionby, M.P.; Mr. Buller, M.P.; Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart.; Lord Ingestre, M.P.; Mr. Lyall, and Mr. [Edward Gibbon] Wakefield."

The secret committee proposed to the government on the part of the Company a project which they afterwards described "as an endeavour, by a change of system, to render needless any direct decision on the precise points of previous controversy; and by means of a large and bold policy, to reconcile satisfactorily the interests of the natives, the colonists, the missionaries, and the Company, and to put matters on an entirely new and sound footing, without compromising the honour of the government. The mode in which it proposed to effect this was by erecting a New Province, comprising the middle and a portion of the northern island, *and conferring the government of it upon a new company (in which the present company was to merge).*"‡

This proposition was rejected by her Majesty's ministers, who, however, intimated, that if the New Zealand Company had any other to offer, founded upon a *wholly different principle*, for relieving themselves, the colony, and the government from the embarrassment consequent upon the present state of their affairs, the discussion of it would be entered upon with an earnest desire to find a satisfactory solution of ex-

* Among the many complaints urged by the company against Governor Fitz-Roy in their petition of April, 1845, was that of his having issued an "inconvertible currency in notes for very small sums." At least he had not been the first to introduce a paper currency into the colony, since their own payments in the New Plymouth settlement, if not elsewhere, had been constantly made in debentures varying in value from 8*d.* upwards, which were nothing more than written scraps of paper issued by the agent. Many of these were lost.

† Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1846.

‡ Eighteenth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 11.

isting difficulties.* Here the matter ended for the time, the company not choosing to offer any proposal calculated to confer on them a diminished monopoly. In the following July we find them again soliciting from the government an arrangement of their land claims, and a fresh loan of £150,000, to enable them to resume their "colonizing operations." These requests were urged in separate communications. To the first Lord Stanley, through Mr. Hope,† gave a decidedly favourable reply; though not to the extent of the Company's demands: since his Lordship repeated his previous declaration, that he could not, "on any account, agree to guarantee to put the Company (forcibly, if necessary) in possession of lands owned by others; or to compel the original possessors to surrender their acknowledged property." With respect to the decisions given by Commissioner Spain in his judicial character, or delivered by him as an arbitrator, whose adjudication had been authorized by the representatives of both parties, Lord Stanley expressed his opinion that "possession of the land included in such award or arbitration should be given to the Company," but beyond this limit compulsory proceedings against the natives would not be sanctioned. Mr. Hope goes on to state, that with respect to the proposed settlement at Otago, the governor of New Zealand should be at once instructed to make to the Company an unconditional grant of the 400,000 acres they had there purchased, excluding that reserved for the natives; the Company engaging, within a limited period, to select the 150,000 acres proposed, and also such further quantities as they might desire, and reconvey the remainder to the Crown.

The application for the loan was, as usual, founded on the expenses and losses of the Company, which were adduced as forming a valid claim on her Majesty's government. Lord Stanley, in his reply of the 30th of August, 1845, refused in the most unequivocal manner to admit or recognise any such claim. But on considerations of general policy, and principally on account of the large body of her Majesty's subjects, who had expended much of their own capital in forming settlements in full reliance on the continuance of the Company's operations, her Majesty's ministers agreed to recommend Parliament in the ensuing session to grant a loan of £100,000 for seven years to the New Zealand Company, to be applied solely to satisfying and purchasing native claims, and for surveys and surveying staff. The lands of the New Zealand Company were to be mortgaged to the Crown, which mortgage might be foreclosed at the end of seven years; interest to be paid at the rate of three per cent. per annum. The extra £50,000 asked by the Company for the "completion of the engagements entered into with the settlers at Nelson, for expenditure on religious and educational purposes, and for steam navigation," was refused for the very sufficient reason that the Company was bound to satisfy those claims from their own resources.

This loan of £100,000 was, however, "accepted without hesitation," and the Nelson settlers, to whom the Company acknowledged they were indebted £50,000, were, to use a nautical phrase, "thrown overboard;" yet, not three months before, the directors had paraded their preference of honour to profit, and their resolution "to forego rather the certain prospect of immediate pecuniary advantages than to purchase that advantage by the sacrifice of the colonists" they had been the means of planting in New Zealand.‡

While these negotiations were carried on between the government and the Company, open hostilities were being waged in New Zealand. On the 3rd of May a body of troops from Sydney was landed in the Bay of Islands, for the purpose of putting down the insurrection. Heké retired to a pah, about twenty miles inland, which he strongly defended. The British troops after severe fighting, were obliged to desist from their attempt to take the pah, and to retreat with considerable loss. A second attempt was made in the month of June. The result was, in the words of Colonel Despard, that the troops "were repulsed with heavy loss." The same authority likewise states in a communication dated July, 1845, that "one-third of the men actually engaged fell in the attack; and during the eight days we have been engaged in carrying on operations against this place, one-fourth of the whole strength of British soldiers under my command (originally not exceeding 490) have been either killed or wounded."

In the month of July a third attack was

* Eighteenth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 67.

† See Letter of G. W. Hope, Esq., to Lord Ingestre, Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 1845.

‡ Eighteenth Report of the New Zealand Company, p. 15.

made upon the same pah, with the assistance of heavier artillery; when Heké abandoned it, and retired further inland. Active operations were then suspended until further reinforcements should arrive.

When the report first reached the colony that Governor Fitz-Roy was recalled, it was rumoured that "her Majesty would send a very different kind of man to govern New Zealand—one who would soon teach the natives to know their proper place."* Official intimation of his recal was not received by the governor until September. The gentleman appointed in his stead was Captain (now Sir George) Grey, who was summoned from the government of South Australia, a colony whose affairs he had administered during a very critical period with singular ability and success, who had deeply studied the character and capabilities of the Aborigines of Australia, and whose name it will be remembered has been mentioned in describing the progress of discovery and exploration in that vast island-continent.

Great excitement prevailed among the Maori population on hearing of the supercession of Governor Fitz-Roy, and its reputed cause, and a considerable number of friendly and influential chiefs proceeded to Auckland, to learn from his own lips the true state of the cause. He used his utmost influence to dispel their apprehensions, and assured them, with a generosity which, under the circumstances, it would be difficult to praise too highly, that if he had been permitted by her Majesty to choose a successor, whose administration he thought would be just and equitable towards the natives, and studiously attentive to their interests, his choice would have fallen upon Captain Grey; than whom, judging from what was publicly known of him, no one could be better qualified for the government of New Zealand.

The new governor arrived in the middle of November, and on the 18th was duly installed. Money and troops to a considerable extent were at once placed at his disposal, his salary as governor was fixed at £2,500 per annum, and almost unlimited confidence was reposed in him.

It is no disparagement to the indisputable merit of Captain Grey, and it is but bare justice to Captain Fitz-Roy, to call attention to the different position of a governor with money, abundance of troops, and a personal income of £2,500 per annum, to that of another without money, almost without troops, and with the confessedly insufficient income of £1,200 per annum, which meagre sum could have been but irregularly paid, the salaries of all the officials, from the highest to the lowest, being, at the period of his assuming the reins of office, considerably in arrears.†

Governor Grey used the means entrusted to him with prudence and success—Governor Fitz-Roy had them not, though he saw and declared them from the first to be absolutely essential to an efficient administration, the want of them compelled him to resort to measures which he would otherwise have zealously eschewed. Too true a Christian, too brave a sailor, and too honest a man, not fully to appreciate the evils inevitably attendant upon a temporizing and apparently vacillating policy, he was yet driven into its adoption, by the state of anarchy and bloodshed which threatened to overwhelm the colony. What else could he do? He had no troops to overawe the natives—no money wherewith to confer upon them those substantial benefits which would have effectually secured the allegiance of this brave, intelligent, and, to a great extent, civilized race, at little cost, even in a pecuniary sense, without involving the sacrifice of a single life. Had but one-tenth the money since expended on military defences and actual warfare been invested by government in the fair purchase of land from the natives, and in direct measures for their benefit, even the dealings of the New Zealand Company would have been insufficient to provoke them to hostilities. The much talked-of native reserves had

* Final Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines.

† In a debate in the House of Lords, 1st of March, 1848, Lord Stanley described Captain Fitz-Roy as having "found himself called on to legislate between a warlike and active population, armed with their rights, and familiar with their laws, numbering 120,000 soldiers, at the lowest calculation, on the one hand, and, on the other, a scattered European population of about 12,000 persons, distributed over seven or eight settlements, 500 or 600 miles between each settlement, and without soldiers, or almost without soldiers. On Captain Fitz-Roy devolved the task of preserving peace and preventing the annihilation of the colony by the natives, who regarded the settlers as persons who had encroached on their dearest rights. It was less difficult for Captain Grey, and it was less merit to him that he should have surmounted these difficulties with increased means at his command. It was not fair to visit Captain Fitz-Roy with censure, because, with diminished resources, he could not do as much. With regard to the colony itself, he believed the error had been that the colonists had underrated the powers, the means, and the civilization of the natives."

been nominally vested by Governor Hobson in the bishop, the chief justice, and the chief protector, but no available fund appears, up to the recal of Governor Fitz-Roy, to have arisen from them, for the local ordinance brought forward by him, empowering the trustees to act on behalf of the natives, without which no proceedings could have been legally taken in respect to leasing or otherwise obtaining any revenue from them, had not then been confirmed. Governor Hobson appears to have been to blame in not strictly adhering to the instructions enjoined upon him by the home government, and suffering the surplus of the 15 per cent. upon the produce of the land sales, which was to be appropriated solely for the benefit of the natives, to be swallowed up in the pressing requirements of his general administration. The amount of this surplus (£4,000) was entered by Mr. Shortland upon the schedule of the debts of the colony, which were to be paid by a vote of Parliament; but this item was struck out by the Commissioner of the Treasury, who refused to recognise it as part of the debt of the colony. The New Zealand Company's reserves* had been a total failure, chiefly from the worthlessness of great part of the tenth or eleventh portions allotted for them [see Div. v. p. 171], but partly also from the general decline of the settlements, and from an ambiguity in the original plan, by which it was left uncertain whether the reserves were for the actual occupation of the natives, or intended to be let to English settlers, and the proceeds to be applied to the maintenance of native institutions. Under these circumstances, the natives naturally asked what benefits, of those held out to them, they had received from British sovereignty. To this Captain Fitz-Roy could only, in reply, tell them of the advantages conferred by the presence of a civilized government, which time alone could teach them to appreciate; but unhappily he could point to no such unmistakeable evidence of care for their welfare as would have been afforded by the erection of an hospital or the establishment of a school. No place of shelter for the natives (excepting one small building at Nelson) had then been erected out of the colonial funds, nor had any contribution been made towards the erection of a church for the Aboriginal population. The Church and Wesleyan societies were left alike by government and (as Mr. Coates and the Rev. J. Beecham had predicted) by the all-promising New Zealand Company, to pursue unassisted the labours to which both parties were so materially indebted; and to the misssionaries the natives turned as to their only disinterested advisers. The influence of the Chief Protector, Mr. Clarke, who had lived among them for twenty-three years, and his son, was doubtless considerable, and of their assistance, as well as that of the missionaries, Governor Fitz-Roy wisely availed himself, in the endeavour to hold his ground during a most critical period. His own unimpeached integrity of character† gave him great weight in the eyes of the natives, and contributed mainly to the efficacy of the "moral force" by which he was enabled to ward off for a time impending danger.

Had he fanned the flame as he was urged and goaded to do by many of the infatuated settlers, instead of using every exertion to smother it, even though conscious that in doing so, he was compelled to adopt measures, the motives for which being misrepresented, would probably cost him character and position—his successor would probably have found on his arrival more deaths to avenge, than lives to preserve.

Administration of Governor Grey.—The new governor at once perceived the deeply-rooted anxiety concerning the intentions of the British government with respect to the land question, which, notwithstanding the zealous and disinterested exertions of Captain Fitz-Roy, prevailed even among the most friendly and influential of the Maori chiefs. He took the only means of calming their excitement, by assuring them, "in the most public manner, in the strong-

* "It appears that in some instances the native allotments included or might have included, a desirable water frontage, the prospective value of which must be sufficiently obvious. Some of these native allotments it has been found expedient to exchange against mountain tracts, which, the Parliamentary Committee were informed, are equally valuable to the natives."—*British Colonization of New Zealand*, by the *Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society*, p. 8.

† In his private capacity, the good done by Captain Fitz-Roy under most unfavourable circumstances, and with limited means, was acknowledged by all parties, and he was zealously assisted by Mrs. Fitz-Roy. A well-informed colonist, writing from Auckland in 1844, says, "Mrs. Fitz-Roy is establishing various schools and other useful and charitable institutions in the settlement, and she is doing it in such a manner as not only to benefit the poor, but also the higher classes, by enlisting in the same cause all the other ladies of the settlement."—Dr. Martin's *New Zealand* p. 214.

est terms, and on repeated occasions," that he "had been instructed by her Majesty, most honourably and scrupulously to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Waitangi."* Very shortly after his installation, he repaired to the Bay of Islands, to ascertain whether Heke and Kawiti would accept the terms of peace which had been offered to them, and to institute, on the spot, a careful inquiry into their real objects and intentions, as also into those of the other chiefs. He found the disaffected natives to consist of two classes, namely, those who had been actively engaged in hostilities, and those who, under the guise of neutrality, were quietly awaiting the event of the contest, intending ultimately to side with the strongest party. This state of things was at once changed, by the declaration of the governor, that he would not recognise neutrality on the part of any chief, but that whoever failed to come and see him, and refused to afford him any assistance he might require, or information on the state of the country, would be considered and treated by him as one of the rebels. Upon this intimation, all the neutral chiefs, with two exceptions, waited upon him, and gave assurances of their loyalty. Heke and Kawiti, however, returned unsatisfactory replies to the communications made to them, and military operations were recommenced.

In the beginning of December the governor returned to Auckland. His first measures were to refuse to permit the sale of land, by waiving the Crown's right of preemption, as his predecessor had done in special cases, and to introduce an ordinance to prohibit the importation, and regulate the sale, of arms and warlike stores in the colony. He then enrolled a native corps, under the direction of British officers, consisting of sixty men, each of whom was to receive rations and ten shillings a month as pay. He also appointed some of the chiefs native magistrates, with a salary of about £20 a-year, paid monthly; chiefs serving as noncommissioned officers to receive additional remuneration. Having made these arrangements, he proceeded in the East India Company's ship, *Elphinstone*, to the Bay of Islands, where he found H.M.S. *Castor*, *North Star*, *Racehorse*, and *Osprey*, at anchor. The seamen and marines from these vessels increased the force available for inland warfare to 1,100 men, exclusive of the native allies, many of whom, but especially Walker Nene, and his brother, Timotiu, Ripa, Macquarie, and Nopera (Noble), distinguished themselves by indefatigable zeal and courage. After some skirmishing, Heke and Kawiti were finally shut up in the pah belonging to the latter chief, at Rua-peka-peka. A company of the Royal Artillery, which had been sent from England, had not arrived; but some of the ships' guns were dragged, with great labour, through the woods and swamps.

The first days of 1846—the seventh year since the establishment of the colony—were spent by the troops in front of Rua-pekapeka. Batteries were erected at the distance of 160 and 365 yards from the pah, and on Saturday, the 10th of January, a constant fire was kept up for several hours, which succeeded in breaching it, though with little, if any, loss to the enemy, who had formed bomb-proof excavations, in which they were safe both from shot and shell.† Walker Nene and other natives, aware of the strength of the pah, entreated the British, in the most urgent manner, not to persist in their attempt to take it by assault, as even in the improbable event of their succeeding, it must be at a heavy cost of life on both sides, but to wait until the ensuing morning (Sunday), when the enemy, not anticipating hostilities, might be easily surprised. The result proved that he was right in his conjecture; but it is not possible, even under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to avoid expressing regret, that the belief in the sanctity of the sabbath, so markedly evinced by the natives, was not respected by their Christian opponents.

Nene, accompanied by two or three other natives, approached the pah in the morning, and found it empty. A signal was made to the nearest stockade, and Captain Denny, with the grenadier company of the 58th regiment, immediately effected an entrance, and was supported by troops and sailors, who rapidly poured in through the breach. The insurgents were on the outside of the pah, and behind it, some occupied in preparing food, others in celebrating divine ser-

* Governor Grey to Earl Grey, Dec. 10th, 1845.

† Colonel Despard, who commanded the troops, declared that the extraordinary strength of the place, particularly in its interior defences, far exceeded any idea he could have formed of it; every hut was a complete fortress in itself, being strongly stockaded all round with heavy timbers sunk deep in the ground and placed close to each other, few of them being less than a foot in diameter, and many considerably more, besides having a strong embankment thrown up behind them.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand of June, 1846; p. 9.

vice. Notwithstanding this surprise, they made a desperate attempt to retake the pah, but were repulsed with loss. That of the British amounted to twelve killed and thirty wounded, the greater part of whom fell while rashly pressing on the natives in their retreat through the forest.* Heke, Kawiti, and their followers, after the destruction of their chief stronghold, suffered greatly from the want of provisions, and shortly after entreated Walker Nene to negotiate on their behalf with the governor for peace, on any terms, offering to give compensation in land for their past offences. The fact of Walker Nene's coming forward as mediator was peculiarly opportune, because, according to Governor Grey's despatch, 22nd January, 1846, some indefinite promise had been made to him, and to other friendly chiefs, that their services to the British government should be rewarded by the grant of land to be confiscated in punishment of the rebellion of its native owners. This arrangement Governor Grey considered that he could not conscientiously carry out: he therefore informed Walker Nene that he and his associates must forego any claims they might have upon the lands of the rebels, arising from promises previously made to them by the local government. In a subsequent despatch (26th January, 1846), in detailing, at some length, his views on the subject, the governor says—"I therefore resolved frankly to tell Walker Nene, that I would at once give the rebels a free pardon, and that I would not fulfil my predecessor's promise of dividing the lands forfeited by the rebels amongst the loyal natives; because I believed that my doing so would be injurious to the reputation and interests of himself and the other friendly chiefs; for that the moment I adopted such a course, every one would cease to believe that the loyal natives had been contending for the re-establishment of peace and good order, and would think that their real object had been to obtain possession of the lands of others. I, moreover, pointed out to him, that if I did bestow these lands upon the friendly chiefs, the war must become one of utter extermination; because there could be no doubt that, so soon as the British force was withdrawn, the original possessors of these lands would attempt to recover them by force of arms, and that it would, moreover, be impossible so to divide it, as not to give rise to quarrels and feuds amongst the loyal chiefs themselves. I added, that in order that it might be clearly seen that I did not refuse to give the lands to the loyal natives *from a desire to obtain them for the Crown*, I would give a free and unconditional pardon to the rebels, leaving it to her Majesty to determine in what manner the services of the loyal natives should be rewarded; and I asked him to explain these my intentions and my views to the other chiefs." Nene† cordially, and without hesitation, assented to the justice of this reasoning. The governor then accorded a free pardon to all concerned in the late hostilities, and soon after sailed to the southern settlements, where the Maories were maintaining a species of guerilla warfare against the settlers, especially those who had established themselves in the upper part of the valley of the Hutt.

Her Majesty's steam-frigate, *Driver*, the first vessel of that description which had visited the Australasian colonies, anchored in Port Nicholson in the afternoon of the day on which the governor arrived in H.M.S. *Castor*. The colonial government brig and the *Slains Castle* (transport) followed, likewise bearing troops, and increasing the disposable force to nearly 1,000 men. Several influential chiefs of the Middle Island at once expressed their intention of maintaining the cause of the government; and Puaha (the Christian chief, who played so conspicuous a part in Mr. Tuckett's narrative, and of whom Governor Grey makes very favourable mention) travelled all night, in his anxiety to embrace the earliest opportunity of tendering his allegiance to the Queen's representative. Te Rauperaha likewise waited upon the governor; both he and Ranghiaiata expressed their willingness to assist in expelling the natives from the valley of the Hutt, which the governor, (considering the claims of the New Zealand Company to have been fairly established,) had given the natives notice to evacuate by a certain day. They agreed to this, but

* *Sketches in New Zealand*, by W. Tyrone Power, D.A.C.G.; introduction, p. 41; and *Annals of the Colonial Church of New Zealand*, p. 207.

† Nene has recently given a noble proof of his disinterestedness by relinquishing all immediate benefit from the royal grant made to him in acknowledgment of his services, and appropriating it to defray the cost of a wheat mill, for the use and benefit of Heke, to whom he said, "I do this to convince you that I am your friend, and was so when I took up arms against you. Is it not a good thing to have white men here, who teach us to grow wheat and have mills, and live in peace with the white men and among ourselves?"

demanded payment for the huts and crops (amounting to nearly 300 acres of potatoes) which they must leave on the land. The governor refused to enter into this question until the Europeans should have been suffered to take peaceable possession.

Intimidated by the unexpected presence of so large a force the majority of the natives gave way, and of the three hundred fighting men who had occupied the disputed territory, all but about twenty speedily removed from it with their families and properties. Those who remained were most daring in their conduct: they took up their position among the wooded hills, where they appear to have been soon joined by others, and on one occasion, having succeeded in passing the troops in such a manner as to escape detection, they plundered sixteen or seventeen of the houses of the settlers, and then suddenly retired to their fastnesses, whither it was worse than useless for British troops to follow them.*

The strength of these retreats, and the judgment exercised by the natives in selecting and fortifying them, may be illustrated by the following account of one near Wellington, which was visited after its abandonment by the natives.

The forest which had been held by the enemy was traversed by a single narrow path, almost impassable for armed Europeans. This path ascended a narrow ridge of rocks, having a precipice on each side covered with jungle. The ridge of rocks was so narrow, that only one person could pass along it at a time, and it led to a hill with a broad summit, upon which a fortress had been constructed in such a manner as completely to command the path, which was rendered more difficult by an abbatis placed across it. The rear of this position was quite as inaccessible as its front, and on each flank was a precipice; from the number of huts placed upon it, it must have been occupied by from 300 to 400 men. Altogether Governor Grey described it as the strongest position he had ever seen in any part of the world. In the beginning of April, (1846,) a barbarous murder was committed by some of the natives under the protection of Ranghiaiata, who refused to give them up, and began to evince open hostility to the government. Ambitious of the fame acquired by Heke and Kawiti in the north, he busied himself in the construction of a pah, from whence he boasted British troops and artillery would be necessary to drive him, which was eventually the case. Rauperaha continued to profess friendship, but there were circumstances in his conduct which inspired doubts of his sincerity. The governor had desired to delay the commencement of field operations until the summer weather; but the repeated outrages of the natives defeated this intention: he therefore sent round troops to occupy and fortify the point at Porirua (see map of New Zealand), and commenced opening out communications with the interior, a measure which the unfortunate position of Wellington, hemmed in by forest-covered mountains, rendered necessary for military as well as agricultural purposes. The rebels, though still in arms, at first offered no interruption to the formation of the roads (on which a large number of the friendly natives were engaged), and ceased to molest the settlers, but this calm was of very brief duration. Half-an-hour before sunrise, on the 16th May, a party about 200 strong, led by a Wanganui chief, named Mamaku, unexpectedly attacked a non-commissioned officer's guard, in front of a military post stationed in the valley of the Hutt. The men composing the guard were surprised and slain, after having given great proofs of personal gallantry. Another affray took place in the following month between a detachment of forty men under the command of Captain Reed, and a party of the rebels, of whom Ranghiaiata was the principal leader, in which the British were again compelled to retreat.

Encouraged by these successes the rebels assumed a most contemptuous tone, and the parties from the interior who were proceeding to join them, as well as those from other parts of the islands, were so elated that the necessity for decided and speedy measures became urgent, not only to discourage the disaffected, but to inspire the native allies more fully with that confidence which they were rapidly losing.† The vigorous steps adopted were successful, and were happily attended with comparatively little bloodshed. The ships of war hovered upon the coast, the soldiers and marines were stationed at favourable points, while the friendly natives pursued Ranghiaiata into the fastnesses whither Europeans could not penetrate. The suspicions which had for some time been entertained of the treachery of Te Rauperaha having been confirmed through a

* Governor Grey's despatch, March 8th, 1846.

† Governor Grey's despatch, July 21st, 1846.

letter addressed to him by some of the disaffected chiefs, who therein apprised him of their intention of joining him, it was determined to seize him by stratagem. To lull the suspicion of the wary chief, the governor, after an interview with him, left Porirua in H.M.S. *Driver*, but returned quietly about two hours before daybreak on the following morning. The boats' crews, under the command of Captain Stanley, of the *Calliope*, supported by a company of soldiers from the camp at Porirua, stealthily approached the pah, and guarded its different entrances, while Captain Stanley, with a party, dashed in to seize Rauperaha. The old chief,* roused suddenly from sleep, did not suffer himself to be captured without a vigorous struggle: he was at length secured, and, together with four other chiefs of inferior rank, conveyed on board a ship-of-war, where he was detained ten months a prisoner. At the expiration of that period, it being found impossible to obtain the evidence considered necessary to prove his guilt, and a large portion of the natives asserting their belief that his alleged continued detention was a mere blind made use of by the authorities, who were ashamed to confess that they had put him to death, it was deemed advisable to release him at the urgent solicitation of his relations, as also of Walker Nene and Te Whero-whero, who pledged their words for his future good conduct.†

The unexpected capture of Rauperaha appears to have struck terror into the natives; and the *Ngatitoa*, his own tribe, to prove their fidelity, volunteered to assist in attacking Ranghiaiata, and actually did take the field, though, according to Power, it was a matter of great doubt which side received most benefit from their services. The result, however, was the dispersion of the disaffected natives, and the capture of several of their chiefs. Ranghiaiata, though, like Rauperaha, far advanced in years, persisted to the last in defending his pah; when at length compelled to quit it, he contrived to elude pursuit, but was reduced to the condition of a fugitive, nearly the whole of his followers having, at least for the time, deserted him. A court-martial was held at Porirua to try the prisoners, some of whom were transported to Van Diemen's Land, from whence they were at a subsequent period permitted to return. One, however, said to have been the brother of Ranghiaiata, and a chief of considerable influence, was tried and found guilty upon two counts, the first charging him with having been engaged in the attack on the troops on the 16th of June, and the second with having been taken in arms against the peace of the Queen, and with having joined the rebels under Ranghiaiata. Sentence of death was pronounced against him, and he was hanged.

This circumstance is noticed in the *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, p. 210, and in the *Colonial Intelligencer* of August, 1847, vol. i., p. 91: an extract recording the particulars of the execution is quoted from a local paper entitled the *New Zealand Chronicle*, and the sentence is commented on as of unwarrantable severity. In the despatches of Governor Grey, published among the parliamentary papers of that date, no allusion is made to the matter, neither have I been able to trace from any source the reason of this man's having been selected for an example, though it is most probable that he must have been distinguished from his companions by some special act of violence or aggression.

Military reinforcements were despatched to New Zealand, in conformity with the opinion of Governor Grey. Captain FitzRoy had been considered as over-rating the necessities of the colony, in requiring the presence of two regiments of the line (2,000 men), and an armed steamer. Governor Grey, after visiting many portions of the islands, recommended that the troops should be increased to 2,500 men, and stated (May, 1846), that upon the arrival of a sufficient military force, the naval force might possibly be reduced to one steamer and one vessel of war; but he fully agreed with his predecessor that the presence of a steamer would be always indispensable.‡ The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply, informed the governor, that her Majesty's ministers being unable to supply the whole

* Power describes Rauperaha as a small man, with a spare wiry frame, possessed of great muscular strength and activity, notwithstanding his advanced age, and adds, " he says himself, that he was a boy when Cook visited the country; which would make him upwards of eighty years of age."—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 51. Mr. Tuckett speaks of the extraordinary length of the teeth of Rauperaha, as one of the few manifestations of age observable in him. Another personal peculiarity which distinguishes the old chief, is that of possessing six toes on each foot.

† Governor Grey's despatch, July 6th, 1847.

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published January, 1847; p. 16.

of the required reinforcement from the regular army, a part of it would consist of a force of a different description, to be designated the Royal New Zealand Fencibles, and to be composed of six companies, including in all about 500 men, to be selected from the discharged soldiers of the British army, either with or without pensions. These men were to be established, with their families, in villages prepared for their reception, each one to have a cottage or hut ready for him, and an acre of land, of which one quarter was to be cleared, with an assurance of regular employment at fair wages:—to be liable to be called out in a military capacity only, for the preservation of the public peace, within the district in which the company they respectively belonged to should have been formed, or in districts immediately adjoining.*

An important feature of the early part of Governor Grey's administration was the abolition of the protectorate department. Concerning the expediency of this measure, very different opinions have been entertained; some considering the office of protector of vital importance, others deeming its existence an anomaly, which could not too soon be extinguished, as the governor being alike the ruler of all British subjects, whether colonists or natives, ought equally to be the protector of both races. In justice to the gentlemen who had filled the arduous duties of protectors of aborigines, and in proof that no imputation rested on their characters, it should be stated, that the chief protector (Mr. Clarke), was offered the position of native secretary, an office created in the place of that of chief protector, while the subordinates in his department were offered employment as clerks or interpreters, as vacancies occurred. Captain Fitz-Roy has borne high testimony to their services, declaring that their knowledge of native usages and language, and their personal influence among the aborigines had enabled them to allay many a fast increasing feeling of vindictive anger, and to prevent many a serious quarrel; he adds, "they were the eyes and ears of the executive authorities at each settlement."

In his final report, dated March, 1846, Mr. Clarke states one especial instance in which the British government had imperfectly discharged their obligations to the New Zealanders. He says,—

"The natives, as if to try what government would do for them in their new relationship as British subjects, speedily brought forward their quarrels and disputes with each other, respecting their landed possessions, expecting assistance and protection; but they soon found that these were questions about which the government took little or no interest; and that so long as their intestine broils were confined to themselves, and were unattended by injurious consequences to the persons and property of Europeans, they were deemed too unimportant for interference, although known to be the fruitful sources of strife and bloodshed. To the present day there is neither a court to take cognizance of disputes of this nature between different tribes, nor even the probability of the organisation and establishment of tribunals, which could efficiently try and adjust such cases." †

The measures which Governor Grey describes himself to have taken to replace the protectorate department,‡ were in themselves unquestionably judicious, and greatly needed. Savings' banks were established at Auckland and Wellington; means were taken for the erection of hospitals for Europeans and natives at Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, and Taranaki; a lawyer of ability was engaged as standing counsel, to whom all the natives resorting to Auckland for justice were referred, a fixed fee of £100 a year being paid to him, from funds applicable to native purposes, and a further fee of five per cent. on all amounts which he might recover for them. Peculiar courts, called Resident Magistrates' Courts, were created for the purpose of determining all civil cases involving claims of less than £100 in amount, arising between natives and Europeans. An ordinance was also enacted to prevent Europeans "from abandoning, in a state of utter destitution and misery, their half-caste children, as they were previously in the habit of doing." Governor Grey, in the despatch from which these particulars are taken, alludes, with reason, to the beneficial results to be expected from the extensive employment of the natives upon public roads, by which means they were taught the use of the principal European agricultural implements, the advantages of combined and continuous labour, and were becoming accustomed to a better diet, to better clothes, to discipline, to regular hours of work, and were at the same time opening up their

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, January, 1847; pp. 18—20. Further particulars respecting the military villages and the native militia will be given in the chapters on topography and population.

† Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, published June, 1847; p. 16.

‡ *Vide* despatch from Governor Grey, dated 4th February, 1847.

country, and insuring to themselves the power of easily transporting their produce to market.

With regard to the annual revenue and expenditure of the colony, Governor Grey gives the following brief estimate in his despatch, dated 12th of May, 1846:—

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| Probable general ordinary annual expenditure of local government . . . . . | £27,000 |
| Probable extra expenditure, on account of natives, police, roads, &c., &c. . . . | 31,000 |
| Total expenditure . . . . . | £58,000 |
| Probable revenue from this date, but rapidly increasing in amount . . . . | 22,000 |
| Immediate annual deficiency, yearly decreasing in amount. . . . . . . . | £36,000 |

The proceedings of Parliament in the session of this and the following year, (1846, '47,) had a very important bearing on the affairs of New Zealand. Before entering upon them, it is necessary to state that at the commencement of 1846, Mr. Gladstone became Secretary for the Colonies, in the stead of Lord Stanley, whose line of policy with regard to New Zealand, he appears to have steadily maintained. In the ensuing June another change of ministry took place, and Mr. Gladstone was succeeded by Earl Grey, whose accession to office was hailed by the New Zealand Company with extreme satisfaction, his opinions being known, to be far more favourable to that body, than those of either of his predecessors. A few months before his lordship became colonial minister, we find Mr. E. G. Wakefield describing him as "the statesman who has most completely mastered the subject of New Zealand affairs,"* and the *New Zealand Journal*, the chief organ of the directors, and more especially of Mr. Wakefield, pointed out in the strongest terms the perfect fitness of Lord Grey to grapple successfully with the many difficulties of the New Zealand question. In one article, after passing the highest eulogiums, both on his public and private character, the writer adds, "we believe that his sense of justice and comprehensive sympathies will care for all,—the colonists of Cook's Straits, the *more irregular* (?) settlers of the northern peninsula, the deluded land-jobbers of Auckland—last, though not least, the natives. We have confidence in his ability to reconcile their seeming jarring and conflicting interests, and in his energy to carry through the undertaking. The national councils, so long as he remains in them, will not be disgraced by that perverseness and paltriness which have exposed the settlers in New Zealand to be duped and plundered by savages, and insulted by swindlers in office."†

This extract may serve as an illustration of the spirit of factious opposition, and of the grossly disrespectful tone still maintained by the directors of the Company towards the authorities, both at home and in the colony, and likewise of the ill-disguised hostility evinced towards the "savages," whose first and great offence consisted in not quietly submitting to be "duped and plundered" of their lands. It is likewise important that the strongly and publicly expressed opinions, both of the Company and of Mr. Wakefield, concerning Earl Grey, should be borne in mind, because the final failure of the Company has occurred during the administration of the very minister whose accession to office was hailed as its surest harbinger of success.

During the session of 1846, an act of Parliament (9 & 10 Vict. c. 184, sec. 11,) was passed by the Imperial Legislature, for the better government of New Zealand, under the authority of which a charter was issued for the introduction of a new constitution, under which the colonists should enjoy the privileges of representative institutions. The following abstract of the chief objects contemplated by the charter, is given in Earl Grey's dispatch to Lord Grey, of 23rd December, 1846:—

"For the institutions established under the charter of November, 1840, it contemplates the substitution of municipal corporations for the government of each separate district of New Zealand, which is or which shall be settled by colonists of European birth and origin. Every such district is to be erected into a borough; every such borough is to elect a common council, from which are to be chosen a mayor and a court of aldermen; every such common council is to elect members to serve in a House of Representatives, forming one of the three estates of a Provincial Assembly. For this purpose the whole of New Zealand is to be divided into two or more provinces. In every such Provincial Assembly, laws will be made for the province by the House of Representatives, by a Legislative Council, and by the governor, who together will constitute the Provincial Legislature.

"But as there are many topics of general concern to all the inhabitants of New Zealand, respecting which some uniformity of legislation and of administration will be indispensable, it is further provided, that a general assembly of the New Zealand Islands

* *Vide* Twentieth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, p. 38.

† *New Zealand Journal*, No. 156 December 20th, 1845; p. 313.

shall be holden by the governor-in-chief. That General Assembly will be composed of himself, and of a Legislative Council, and of a House of Representatives. But no one will be a member of the Legislative Council of the General Assembly who is not also a member of one of the Legislative Councils of the Provincial Assemblies; neither will any one be a member of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly who is not a member of one of the Houses of Representatives of the Provincial Assemblies.

"In order to adapt the system of the local executive government to this scheme of provincial and general legislation, the charter (if the mere text of that instrument be alone regarded) provides for, and supposes, the creation of five different offices. They are a governor-in-chief of New Zealand, a governor of each province, and a lieutenant-governor of each."*

For the present, however, the five offices mentioned at the close of the foregoing paragraph, were to be combined in two persons, the superior remaining with Captain (now Sir George) Grey, and the inferior being intrusted to Mr. Eyre, a gentleman who, like Captain Grey, had won considerable renown as an Australian explorer, and was known to take a deep interest in the welfare of aboriginal races. A letter of instructions, issued under the royal signet and sign manual, appended to the charter, gave copious and detailed explanations of its provisions, and of the manner in which they were to be carried out. The course of policy to be adopted with regard to the land question, was very different to that heretofore followed. Lord Grey enters upon this topic by announcing the repeal of the Australian Land Sales Act, so far as lands situated in New Zealand were concerned, and the consequent absence of any statutory regulations on the subject. His lordship then states that the Queen, as entitled in right of her crown to waste lands in the colony, is free to make whatever rules her Majesty may see fit, and the charter accordingly authorises the governor to take immediate measures for the alienation of such lands, by ordering the registration of the extent and limit of all lands considered as the property, either of individuals, of bodies politic or corporate, or of the native tribes; the whole of the remainder was then to be declared as constituting the royal demesne. No claim to land was to be admitted on behalf of the aboriginal inhabitants, until it should have been proved to the satisfaction of a court to be holden for the purpose,—

"That either by some act of the executive government of New Zealand, as hitherto constituted, or by the adjudication of some court of competent jurisdiction within New Zealand, the right of such aboriginal inhabitants to such lands has been acknowledged and ascertained, or that the claimants or their progenitors, or those from whom they derived title, have actually had the occupation of the lands so claimed, and have been accustomed to use and enjoy the same, either as places of abode or for tillage, or for the growth of crops, or for the depasturing of cattle, or otherwise for the convenience and sustentation of life, by means of labour expended thereupon."

In the above clause there is one point to which it may be well to draw attention, namely, that in which it is laid down, "that the claimants or their progenitors, or those from whom they derived title, have actually had the occupation of the lands so claimed, and have been accustomed to use and enjoy the same," &c. In the charter of 1840, however, in which these words were first employed, they did not stand in conjunction, for clause thirty-seven of that instrument enacted, that "nothing in the said charter shall affect or be construed to affect, the rights of any aboriginal natives of the said colony to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons," &c. An able writer, in commenting upon this apparently trivial distinction, remarks that, "according to the true and general acceptation of the word, 'occupation' may exist in respect of individual right of property independently of enjoyment;" but that "a right of enjoyment is necessarily dependent upon a precedent right of occupation, wherefore, whilst 'occupation *or* enjoyment,' would leave intact the very amplest construction of the treaty, 'occupation *and* enjoyment' would limit proprietary rights to a very narrow compass; wherefore the peculiar virtue of the substitution of 'and,' for 'or,' becomes apparent. Occupation is the larger right; enjoyment, the lesser; save definite boundary, occupation *or* enjoyment imposes no limitations upon proprietary rights; on the contrary, occupation *and* enjoyment imply a restriction of the greater right by the lesser. The treaty of Waitangi, and the charter of 1840, confirmed and guaranteed the greater right; the charter of 1846, and the letter of instructions, impose the lesser."†

The third and last feature of especial importance in the proposed constitution, refers to the government of the aborigines. In the fourteenth chapter of the Royal in-

* Parliamentary Papers, January, 1847, p. 64.

† *Vide* New Zealand Question by L. A. Chamerovzow, secretary to the Aborigines' Protection Society, pp. 363, 364.

structions, the governor-in-chief was directed to set apart, as he should see occasion, "aboriginal districts," the limits of which he was empowered from time to time to contract or enlarge, and within which the laws, customs, and usages of the Maories, so far as they were not repugnant to the general principles of humanity, should be for the present maintained, under the authority of native chiefs or others to be appointed or sanctioned by the governor-in-chief.*

Until further orders should be given, the three islands of New Zealand were to be formed into two provinces, to be called "New Ulster" and "New Munster;" the former to comprise the whole of the Upper or Northern Island, except such parts adjacent to Cook's Straits (Wellington, Wanganui, &c.,) as the governor-in-chief might exclude; the parts so excepted, together with the Middle and Southern Islands, to constitute "New Munster." Each province was to have an executive council (composed of the colonial secretary, attorney-general, colonial treasurer, officer in command of the troops, and such other persons as may be deemed necessary,) to aid with their advice the administrator of the government.

The constitution bears internal evidence of the care and labour with which it had been prepared, but it was not the less grounded on a mistaken view of the actual and immediate requirements of the population generally, both European and native. To the former it conceded more than the majority of them desired, or were, in fact, in a position to receive; while it indirectly excluded the latter from the slightest participation in the legislative privileges so lavishly bestowed upon the white race, by declaring that the elective franchise was not to be exercised "by persons unable to read and to write in the English language;" in other words, that the Maories, of whatever station, influence, and natural ability, were to be allowed to enjoy it only on condition of being able to read and write, not their own, but a foreign, and to them, most difficult tongue.†

The time for promulgating and carrying out the charter was left to Governor Grey, who wisely availed himself of the discretionary power granted him, by delaying its introduction, and lost no time in representing to the home government his reasons for doing so. In several of his dispatches, but especially in that dated the 3rd of May, 1847,‡ the chief objections to the proposed constitution are clearly and convincingly shewn; especially the injustice of giving to a "small fraction" of one race, the power of governing the large majority of another, and of appropriating as they may think proper, a large revenue raised chiefly by taxation from the latter. The governor adds:—

"And these further difficulties attend the question, that the race which is in the majority is much the most powerful of the two; the people belonging to it are well armed, proud, and independent, and there is no reason that I am acquainted with to think that they would be satisfied and submit to the rule of the minority, whilst there are many reasons to believe that they will resist it to the utmost. And then it must be further remembered that the minority will not have to pay the expenses of the naval and military forces which will be required to compel the stronger and more numerous race to submit to their

* This plan of "aboriginal districts" bears some resemblance to one propounded by Mr. E. G. Wakefield, in an extraordinary and most mischievous letter, addressed by him to Mr. Gladstone, when colonial minister (21st January, 1846). It is very painful to find so high an authority as Earl Grey unquestionably is on colonial matters, even apart from his position in the cabinet, advocating a measure which those best acquainted with the New Zealanders declare to be, however modified in minor points, calculated to exercise a most injurious effect on the native character. That Mr. E. G. Wakefield, who has not hesitated to describe the treaty of Waitangi as having been "on our part a fraud on the ignorant natives, and a sham towards more intelligent people," should advise that beyond the limits of certain municipalities, the *New Zealand savages should be allowed to follow their own devices in a lawless territory whither no colonist of ordinary prudence would venture, because the protection of British law would in no case be extended to them*, and which would, as he foresees, be preferred "by a lawless class, such as now prowl about these islands, (that is escaped convicts, runaway sailors, &c.,) is no great matter of surprise, or even that he should again urge the disgraceful and utterly inexcusable plan of seizing upon the possessions of a noble, intelligent, and improving race, and confining them like wild beasts, within a sort of large lair, viz., the northern part of the North Island, under "a system of separation or anti-colonization," this northern peninsula being, it should be remembered, according to numerous accounts put forth by Mr. Wakefield and his "colleagues in the New Zealand Company," the most barren and uninviting portion of New Zealand.—*Vide* Twentieth Report of the New Zealand Company, pp. 37 to 64.

† Governor Grey, in his despatch of May 3, 1847, says, "that he does not know one native who can read and write the English language, although out of sixty-seven natives who had been employed in the Ordnance Department, sixty-six of them could write their own language, and the whole of them could read it."

‡ Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, December, 1847, pp. 42—45.

rule, but that, on the contrary, these expenses must be paid by Great Britain."

After adverting to the extent to which the Maories already contributed to the revenue, and the probability that each year, as they continued to advance in civilisation, they would do so still more largely, so that the proportion paid by the European population would form but a small portion of the whole revenue; his excellency proceeds to say:—

"It must be borne in mind that the great majority of the native population can read and write their own language fluently; that they are a people quite equal in natural sense and ability to the mass of the European population; that they are jealous and suspicious, that they now own many vessels, horses, and cattle; that they have in some instances considerable sums of money at their disposal, and are altogether possessed of a great amount of wealth and property in the country, of the value of which they are fully aware; that there is no nation in the world more sensitive upon the subject of money matters, or the disposal of their property; and no people that I am acquainted with less likely to sit down quietly under what they may regard as injustice. A great change has also recently taken place in their position, the mutual jealousies and animosities of the tribes have greatly disappeared, and a feeling of class or race is rapidly springing up. * * * Their intercourse and power of forming extensive conspiracies, and of executing combined and simultaneous movements upon different points is daily increasing. * * * It is, I think, doubtful, therefore, if it would be prudent to hazard the attempt to force upon a nation so circumstanced a form of government which would at the same time irritate their feelings, and I think insult their pride, which there can be no doubt would separate them from the Europeans, placing them in an inferior position as a race, and thus at once create this feeling of nationality, the consequence of which would, I fear, be so hurtful. * * The foregoing arguments have been applied solely to the great native population throughout the country, and to the general revenue raised from duties of customs; but they apply equally, perhaps even with more force, to the natives who would reside within the limits of boroughs, and who would be subjected to direct taxation, with form of assessments, &c., which, I fear, might often be collected in a manner highly offensive to them, and who would speedily become discontented and exasperated if they had no voice in the subject. The same arguments apply also equally to the naturalized Germans, who are likely to become a very numerous and important portion of the population, and who are at present contented and good citizens, whom I should be very sorry to see excluded from any privileges accorded to the rest of her Majesty's subjects; whilst the inhabitants of the French colony at Akaroa, whom her Majesty's government have directed to be naturalized, will, in like manner, be wholly excluded from any share in the management of their own affairs."

The governor was not singular in his anticipation of the evils which would result from any attempt to carry the proposed constitution into effect. The bishop and chief-justice, both men of acknowledged ability and high principle, temperately but decidedly expressed their views on the subject; the latter, in the shape of a pamphlet; the former, in the subjoined protest. The pamphlet was printed only for a very limited private circulation, and although referred to in the Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, bearing date July, 1849, is not, and, I believe, has not since been published, either at home or in the colony; the protest was transmitted to Earl Grey through the governor, by the bishop, who expressly states, that previous to its publication as an official document, few, even of his own friends, knew that it had been written, and not one of the native race.* It could not, therefore, have had the effect, it was from ignorance of the facts of the case, at first asserted to have had, in exciting a spirit of disaffection among the natives.

"St. John's College, Bishop's Auckland,
"July 1, 1847.

"May it please your Excellency,—I, George Augustus, by Divine permission, bishop of New Zealand, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the clergymen of this diocese, employed by Captain Hobson to interpret and explain the treaty of Waitangi to the native chiefs of New Zealand, do hereby record my deliberate and formal protest against the principles expressed in a letter of instructions addressed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey to your excellency, bearing date, Downing-street, 23rd December, 1846, to the effect that,

"'The savage inhabitants of New Zealand have no right of property in land which they do not occupy, and which has remained unsubdued to the purposes of man.'

"Against this doctrine I feel myself called upon to protest, as the head of the missionary body, by whose influence and representations, the native chiefs were induced to sign the treaty of Waitangi, not one of whom would have consented to act as an agent of the British government, if the assurances given to them by Captain Hobson had not been directly contrary to the principles now avowed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey.

"It is my duty also to inform your excellency, that I am resolved, God being my helper, to use all legal and constitutional measures, befitting my station, to inform the natives of New Zealand, of their rights and privileges as British subjects, and to assist them in asserting and maintaining them, whether by petition to the Imperial Parliament, or other loyal and peaceable methods: but that, in so doing, I shall not forget the respect which I owe to your excellency, nor do anything which can be considered likely to add to the difficulties of the colony.

"I have further to request, that this communication may be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Earl

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published July, 1849, p. 37.

Grey, secretary of state for the colonies, with whom I am privileged to communicate through your excellency. "I have, &c.,

"G. A. N. ZEALAND.

"His Excellency Captain Grey, &c., &c., &c."

The Wesleyan missionaries fully participated in the apprehensions expressed by their brethren of the Church Mission, and their superintendent, the Rev. Walter Lawry, strongly urged the subject on the consideration of the Society in England, who, in consequence, memorialized Earl Grey, as did also the Aborigines Protection Society, in earnest and forcible language.

These various remonstrances were not disregarded, and the result was the speedy passing of a bill to suspend the charter for five years. Meanwhile, a Legislative Council was authorized to be formed at Wellington, for the New Munster province, under the administration of Lieutenant-governor Eyre (who arrived in the colony in 1847); Governor Grey superintending the affairs of the New Ulster province with a Legislative Council at Auckland, and at the same time, fulfilling the functions of governor-in-chief. To have repealed the charter altogether, would have been more satisfactory, as several of the cogent reasons urged against its being brought into operation in 1847, would seem to apply with undiminished force to its probable effect in 1852; meanwhile, the allowing its most obnoxious clauses, especially the one relating to the "settlement of the (so called) waste lands of the crown,"* to remain unrepealed, and only in temporary abeyance,—could scarcely fail to keep the native population in an unsettled and anxious state, calculated to check their advance in civilization, and, by consequence, to retard the progress of the colony. The importance of coming to a decision with as little delay as possible, may be illustrated by the following extract from a letter published in the *Colonial Intelligencer* of December, 1847. The name of the writer is withheld, but it evidently proceeds from some one who, by position and ability, is qualified to offer very valuable testimony:—

"Auckland, 5th July, 1847.

"At present I can do nothing more than advertise you of the critical state of things in this colony; and assure you that it appears to many thoughtful and disinterested men to have become a matter of vital importance to this colony, that the doctrines recently laid down by the colonial minister, in his despatch explaining the new instructions respecting native titles to land, should be at once and seriously considered in all their bearings.

"For though it may be true that the theory put forth by Earl Grey is regarded by him simply as a doctrine sound in the abstract, yet practically inapplicable to New Zealand, by reason of past avowals here made of the opposite doctrine; and though it may be true that the instructions themselves are capable of being so carried out as to work no injustice, yet it is not less true that *any application* of the theory now propounded must involve a breach of national faith, from which Earl Grey and every nobleman in England would shrink at once, if the facts were clearly before him; and further, that in that breach of faith would lie the necessary loss of our moral influence, and therein of every hope for the improvement and advancement of this people; nay, the certainty of the loss of that hold which our faith and our better usages have already gained upon them. Every thing has been taken by them, of necessity, upon our authority—upon the credit of the Pakeha Teacher's being a true man, seeking the good of those whom he instructs.

"If this new theory were promulgated amongst the natives (as it will be), and believed to be the deliberate mind of the Queen of England (as I trust it never will be) towards them, we should not have one friend.

"The one practical difficulty which every man who has been conversant with the native people has been forced to see again and again, has been the suspicion which the natives have entertained of our intention to act here as they know us to have acted in Australia—a suspicion which a race of shrewd and foreseeing men could not but form. This is the one repelling force, against which it has been necessary to strive constantly. Yet many—very many—especially amongst those who have accepted Christianity, do believe that we mean what we say. In this belief lies all our strength and all our hope. If this spell be broken, our power for good is gone. But that will not leave us in a condition of indifference and repose. At that very point the determination and power of this people for evil will begin. Our settlements are at their mercy. Every month of the last three years has strengthened in them a national feeling, and removed hindrances to their combination against the Pakeha.

"Now this is essentially a fighting people, though the tendency to war has been greatly checked by the progress of the Christian faith, and by a daily increasing sense of the benefits of peace and order. The extent to which that faith has been distinctly and soundly apprehended by these people I do not inquire into now; but thus much is undeniable, that they understand their new faith to be inconsistent with their old system of warfare. So far, at least, the Christian influence has been strongly effective. Yet the old spirit is there, and needs only to be roused, to burn as fiercely as in time past. Any direct encroachment on any territorial right will rouse it. And the important point to remember is this, that the New Zealanders will not stop to ask us to define territorial rights for them nor will they defer to the authority of writers on the *Jus Gentium*. Wherever any benefit to be derived from any portion of the surface of the land has been, by the immemorial usage and habit of the people, appropriated to one set of men (and distinctly guaranteed to them by treaty and numerous assurances), that set of men will never consent to see it taken by any man, by

* Thirteenth chapter of the Royal Instructions which accompanied the Charter.

mere force. Could Englishmen respect them if they would? That such appropriation does exist over the surface of this country is certain. To us here, who move up and down the land, this I say is certain. We need not to ask questions. You hear two natives arguing on some story told, and you find this kind of appropriation to distinct tribes or (*hapus*) sub-tribes, sometimes to distinct familes or individuals, implied. We are as much under a physical necessity of knowing this, as some honourable gentlemen at home appear to be under a mental incapacity of conceiving it. But if this theory were to take a material and practical shape in these islands, it would appear not as an encroachment on some slightly important interest, but it would in reality be (however little it may be so conceived at home), in its consequences (and few men are quicker in discerning consequences than the natives), a destruction of their most valuable rights; of rights essential to, under present circumstances, their physical existence. Earl Grey cannot be aware of this; yet a single day's walk in the bush would force upon him a conviction of the truth of what I assert.

"The occupation of these islands by the Maori has been in this fashion. The first immigrants proceeded inland from the sea coast, clearing away the forest before them, and raising their crops upon the soil which, from year to year, was newly cleared. The lands actually cleared are still found to be fringed and bounded by forest land, into which the tribe is still working its way. When you come to the edge of the forest you find a village, generally not a fortified village or pah, but a collection of cottages. The forest recedes, and after a time the settlement moves on. In the tract which the cultivators leave behind them, some villages are retained as strongholds, or for reasons of local convenience, as of sea or river fishing, &c. This tract having been reclaimed by the labour of the present generation, or of their progenitors, or of those through whom they claim, would be saved to the natives by the theory. Yet its value to them is far less than that of the woodland which lies before them, and upon which they have not actually bestowed labour. The former yields runs for their pigs, flax-swamps for clothing and trade, ducks, eels, &c., but the latter is the cover under which the pigs breed: from it they obtain timber for their *pahs* (houses) and their canoes; but, above all, from it they obtain by far the larger part of their daily food. The ordinary mode of cultivation is to burn and fell the forest trees, and to put their seed into the soil upon which the burning has taken place. This portion of the soil is in fact at present the main source of subsistence to this people. It is the staff of their life, the bread which they eat. Yet, as no labour has actually been applied, it is the very part to which the new theory would attach. To claim these lands, and to attempt to enforce the claim, would be in fact (however it may be conceived of by Earl Grey) to declare a war of extermination; for it can never be expected that these people will yield up that which they, by common consent amongst themselves, regard as a matter of property, because they may be informed that speculative writers think otherwise, especially when no compensation is to be offered for what they know to be of the utmost value to themselves. It may be that the serious and explicit avowal of the philosophical claim may be met by the natives with a smile, as a ridiculous pretension of the Pakeha; but if they regard it as our serious determination, there will be an end of all peace in this land. The colonization of New Zealand will be postponed, to be begun again by another generation. England will have gained only the shame of a failure, caused by our own injustice.

"The good fame of England is worth a struggle. The natural rights of human kind are worth defending. As to this native people in particular, I have neither space nor time (for the post is on the point of closing) to speak minutely. The character they bear in England appears to vary with circumstances. A few years back they were described as a most hopeful—an already half-regenerated race of uncivilized men. Since it was discovered that they did not admit the principle, that men ought to part with that for which they and their forefathers had shed their blood, merely because other persons professed to have bought it, they appear to have lapsed into the class of treacherous and bloodthirsty savages. No doubt there have been good reasons for all this. But speaking of this people as a body, I assert confidently, that British colonization has never come in contact with a race of uncivilized men more capable of improvement, more serviceable or useful, more disposed to repose a perfect confidence in England, or more willing to live at peace, if it be clearly shown that British sovereignty is intended to be (as was promised in the beginning) a source of benefit, as to other British subjects, and not of enslavement and spoliation."

At home, and in New Zealand, all parties concurred in commending the promptitude with which Earl Grey had taken measures to suspend the charter, as being at least a move in the right direction, except the New Zealand Company and a minority of its ill-starred land-purchasers, who had hoped to see "all the treaty of Waitangi nonsense"* swept away by the operation of the proposed charter. Besides the prospect of thus obtaining the object which they have so long and perseveringly sought, viz.—the possession of lands which they had never bought, and the native owners had never sold; there would seem to have been another motive which rendered them particularly desirous for the immediate establishment of "representative institutions," and wilfully blind to the fact that the colonists, neither in regard to numbers or wealth, had attained the position which could alone fit them to enjoy the privileges and bear the expenses of representative institutions. Even in their own settlements there were men who clearly set forth this fact, and did not hesitate to avow that for the present, at least, and until their land-purchasers should obtain legal conveyances, "real or complete self-government would be out of the question. The control exercised by the agent over the fortunes and position of a large number of

* *Vide Spectator*, January 2nd, 1847

colonists, would render independence inconvenient, confer upon him an influence fatal to liberty of action, and render him the depository of political power." The foregoing words are those of Dr. Monro, one of the most accomplished and intellectual of the fine body of colonists whose confidence in the integrity of the New Zealand Company had been so cruelly abused. He remarks, as a reason for "the extraordinary proceedings of the Company in withholding from us our conveyances, after having promised them up to the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute," that,—

"In a settlement already established, such as Wellington or Nelson, with no great field of extension, *if conveyances were once issued*, the influence of the Company or its Agent would be comparatively trifling. But in any settlement of the Company's *in which the purchasers have not yet got their title*, in all settlements in course of progress, and throughout the colony generally, if emigration were advancing, the influence of the Company and its agents, wielding the monstrous, unconstitutional, and irresponsible power which the British Parliament, in a fit of insanity, placed in its hands, would be overwhelming."*

The concession made by the government to the New Zealand Company, to which Dr. Monro adverts in such strong terms of condemnation, was the arrangement entered into in 1847, and confirmed by "An Act to promote colonization in New Zealand, and to authorize a loan to the New Zealand Company," who, in the month of April, (having then received £80,000 of the loan of £100,000 guaranteed to them by act of Parliament in the preceding session,) applied to her Majesty's ministers for compensation for the injury which had been done to them by various acts of the government at home, and of the local government of New Zealand. This assertion was supported by statements so plausible, that only those who had followed the Company in all its tortuous windings, and who were acquainted with the systematic perversion of truth, either by the suppression of part of the facts which were assumed to be wholly manifested, or the misrepresentation of them altogether, would be likely to examine their assertions with the searching scrutiny necessary to detect their hollowness. Those, however, who had done so, and who had consequently traced the line of policy which the Company had invariably adopted in each separate transaction with the government, of asking considerably more than even they could possibly expect, would feel no great surprise at finding them request from Earl Grey, in language equivalent to a demand:—"*Either* the payment of a sum of £225,000, together with the addition† which may be decided on, as the amount of the loss alluded to above, as not yet estimated; leaving the Company's engagements to be satisfied out of these sums and the proceeds of its land. *Or*, the transfer to the government of the 1,073,000 acres of land to which the Company has at present a right, together with an obligation to satisfy the engagements of the Company as above stated, in this country and in New Zealand."‡

According to the documents which accompanied this extraordinary communication, the expenditure of the Company from the 2nd of May, 1839, to the 5th of April, 1847, exclusive of £44,890 paid to the Company's shareholders, as interest upon its capital, to the 5th of October, 1843, had been as follows:—

| Expenditure. | May 2, 1839, to April 5, 1845. | April 6, 1845, to April 5, 1846. | April 6, 1846, to April 5, 1847. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Home Establishment | £50,106 | £4,025 | £3,652 | £57,784 |
| Emigration. . . . | 211,754 | 635 | 108 | 212,498 |
| Colonial. . . . . | 172,704 | 29,686 | 20,163 | 222,555 |
| Miscellaneous. . . | 133,435 | 3,183 | 6,674 | 143,292 |
| Total . . | £568,001 | 37,530 | 30,598 | 636,131 |

*Note.*—The colonial expenses from April 6, 1846, to April 5, 1847, include £15,000 deposited with Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., to cover the guarantee given by the Company's bankers upon bills to be drawn from the colony by the principal agent.

The shillings and pence having been struck out, leave the totals slightly incorrect.

The above statements shew an expenditure in eight years of £681,021, of which no more than £200,000 had been subscribed by the shareholders. The principal expenditure took place previous to 1845, and amounted to £612,891, or at the rate of more than £100,000 a-year; yet not more than 6,000 persons were provided, during that time, with free passages to New Zealand. On landing, the emigrants had to build their own habitations and clear their own land, that is, provided they were so fortunate as to obtain permission to occupy on suffer-

* Vide *Nelson Examiner* of October 26, 1850.

† "The addition to be decided on," is stated in a previous paragraph to be "a large unascertained amount."

‡ Letter to Earl Grey from T. C. Harington, secretary to the New Zealand Company, 23rd April, 1847. Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, June, 1847, pp. 106–7.

ance a sufficient portion to supply their more pressing requirements. The so-called public works (of the Company), in which enormous sums are said to have been sunk, consisted chiefly of bridle-paths through the forest, dignified with the name of roads; and bridges of such imperfect construction, that the first flood swept them away; while any preparation for the observance of religious worship, either in Wellington or Nelson, or even the appointment of a minister of the Gospel, would seem to have been wholly disregarded by the propounders "of one of the greatest missionary projects ever suggested."—(See Div. v., p. 147.)

The obligations and engagements of the Company, (in April, 1847,) "exclusive of those to their land-purchasers and shareholders, and of open accounts in New Zealand," are thus stated:—open accounts and contingencies in England, say £10,000; debentures not yet paid off, £54,000; interest thereon, £2,625=£56,625; advanced by her Majesty's government, £80,000;† total, £146,625. In addition to this sum, the directors said they were indebted to the Nelson settlement, £25,000;* to their shareholders, £235,000. Making allowance for some securities and investments, it was announced that "the total of the Company's liabilities may therefore be estimated at £394,000."

The assets set forth consisted of a right to 1,049,000 acres, and 24,000 acres, being the quantity still unsold out of the 1,300,000 acres claimed under Mr. Pennington's investigation in November, 1840, and by subsequent correspondence.

Earl Grey, who appears to have taken a far too favourable view of the proceedings of the Company, received this last proposition in a very different manner to that in which somewhat similar ones had been met by his predecessors—Lord Normanby, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Gladstone. Lord Stanley, indeed, had been sufficiently long at the head of the colonial office, to become conversant with their various schemes and manœuvres, their plots and counter-plots, and, judging from the experience he must have acquired of their past dealings, would probably have concluded, that so far from having any well-founded claim upon the government for compensation, it was rather a question whether a rigid and searching investigation, ought not to be instituted into the truth of the heavy charges brought against the directors by settlers of all grades who had emigrated under their auspices, and who, having long and vainly sought for justice at their hands, appealed to public opinion and to the legislature of their country.

Extracts strongly corroborative of the deep and general sense entertained by the colonists of Wellington, of the inexcusable injustice with which they had been treated, have been already quoted (Div. v., pp. 162, 175,) from a pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Directors of the New Zealand Company, from the land-purchasers resident in the first and principal settlement, claiming compensation for the Company's breach of contract, and calling upon the Directors to fulfil the terms of purchase.* This letter was framed by a committee of gentlemen appointed at a public meeting held on the evening of the 29th of July, 1846, which was attended by nearly every "owner of land-orders in the settlement of Wellington," by whom the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. In reading them, it should be remembered that they are not the opinions of a few individuals, but the common voice of the "first and principal" of those settlers whose interests the New Zealand Company, whether addressing the government or the public, always assumed to be identical with its own, whereas its actual, though not rightful position, was that of a lawyer, who receives his fees whether his client wins or loses his cause:—

"Resolved, 1.—That the purchasers of land in the New Zealand Company's first and principal settlement have hitherto refrained from pressing their claims upon the Company, in the full confidence and expectation, that the Directors, as soon as they were relieved from the difficulties in which they have been placed, would have adopted immediate measures for fulfilling the engagements entered into with the purchasers of land, and would have compensated them for the loss they have incurred from the inability of the New Zealand Company to complete the contract made seven years ago with such purchasers.

"2.—That the purchasers of land, seeing the disregard of their interests evinced by the directors, in the arrangement recently made‡ with her Ma-

* When the representation made by the Company to Earl Grey, estimating its liabilities to the Nelson settlers on account of their trust funds at £25,000, became known in Nelson, it created much surprise and dissatisfaction, and a memorial was drawn up and forwarded to the Court of Directors in November, 1847, clearly shewing that the fund available for the purposes of the settlement, was or ought to be, not £25,000, but £60,000.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of 1850, p. 186.

jesty's government (in which there is not a single stipulation in favour of the settlers), seeing also, with equal surprise and regret, that the directors, in their reply to Dr. Evan's application on their behalf for compensation, distinctly repudiate their liability to make any such compensation, feel that the time has arrived when it is incumbent upon them to call upon the directors of the New Zealand Company to fulfil the conditions upon which the settlers purchased their land.

"3.—That although one of the terms of purchase was, that the purchasers should have power to select the most fertile and available land in the territories of the Company, yet the quantity of land thrown open for selection has not only been extremely limited, but the most fertile and available districts in this settlement (as for example, the Wairarapa, and the right bank of the Manawatu,) have been kept back for the purpose (now openly avowed,) of forming new settlements, and that the purchasers have, in consequence, been compelled to select land, the greater portion of which is utterly unavailable and worthless.

"4.—That the directors agreed with the purchasers of land to expend £75 out of every £100, for their exclusive benefit, retaining the remaining £25 for their commission; that the Company have been awarded by government for every £75 (so agreed to be expended for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers,) 300 acres of land, of which they have given 100 acres to the purchasers, appropriating the other 200 acres to their own use, so that the Company have actually expended only twenty-five per cent. for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers, and have reserved to themselves seventy-five per cent. as their commission.

"5.—That inasmuch as the directors have sought compensation from government for their losses arising from the delay that has occurred in their obtaining possession of their lands, they have virtually admitted that compensation is due from themselves to those who purchased land from them.

6.—That a memorial be addressed to the directors, calling upon them to fulfil the conditions referred to in the preceding resolutions, viz.,—1st, That all the available districts in the neighbourhood of this settlement (as the Wairarapa, &c.) be purchased, surveyed, and thrown open for selection to the purchasers of land, who shall be at liberty to throw up the unavailable land they have been so unjustly compelled to select; and, 2ndly, that the land, amounting to 256,330 acres, awarded to the Company by the government, in virtue of the money paid to, and agreed to be expended by the Company for the exclusive benefit of the purchasers, forming the first and principal settlement, be placed at their disposal."

A still stronger case against the New Zealand Company was set forth in the subjoined petition of the Nelson settlers, presented by Benjamin Hawes, Esq., to the House of Commons, on the 8th of February, 1847:—

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Owners of Land and Agents of Absentee Proprietors in the settlement of Nelson, New Zealand,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners purchased land from the New Zealand Company, the great majority of them so long ago as the year 1841, for which they paid £300 for 201 acres.

"That they did so, relying upon the high character and position of the directors of the New Zealand Company, and upon the faith of certain letters sanctioned by them, in which it was stated that the Company possessed the right of selecting land in any part of the colony, and that a body of capitalists desirous to emigrate to New Zealand had applied to the Company to form a new settlement. These letters are published in the Parliamentary Papers upon New Zealand for the year 1841.

"That it was proved that the New Zealand Company did not possess the right of selection assumed by it, by the fact of Governor Hobson refusing to allow it to form the settlement at Port Cooper, as it desired to do.

"And that your petitioners have since had reason to believe that no body of capitalists desirous to emigrate, such as those alluded to, ever had any existence.

"That your petitioners bought their land in accordance with certain terms for purchase, published at the time by the New Zealand Company, and which will be found in the same volume of Parliamentary Papers. By these terms of purchase, the Company undertook to form a settlement, which should consist of 221,100 acres, the site of which, it is stated, shall be the best that may be available at the time of the selection being made, and that the position, with reference to Port Nicholson and the rest of New Zealand, shall be such, that the land may reasonably be expected to advance in value with the utmost rapidity. The Company, by the same terms for purchase, pledged itself to appropriate the purchase-monies of the land offered for sale, amounting in all to £300,000, in the following manner, viz.:—

| | |
|---|---|
| £150,000 | to the exclusive purpose of emigration to this particular settlement: |
| 50,000 | to defray the Company's expenses in selecting the site and establishing the settlement; any surplus of this fund to be applied to the public purposes next mentioned: |
| 50,000 | to public purposes, for rendering the settlement commodious and attractive; as such purposes, it is intended to apply £15,000 to religious uses and endowments, for colonists of all denominations; £15,000 to the establishment of a college in the settlement; and £20,000 towards encouragement of steam navigation, for the benefit of the settlement, by way of bounty: |
| 50,000 | to the Company for its expenses and profit on the use of its capital: |
| £300,000 | Total. |

"That the site chosen for the settlement has been found to be wholly inadequate to the fulfilment of the Company's liabilities, nor can the just claims of the purchasers be satisfied, unless an equitable adjustment be effected by a remodelling of the original scheme, or by compensation.

"That up to the present times, only 51 acres have been offered for selection out of each allotment of 201 acres, which your petitioners paid for so long ago, and that no title has been obtained to any part of the land.

"That of the land thus distributed, one-half at the lowest calculation, is utterly worthless, and without any prospect of ever acquiring value.

"That in consequence of these circumstances, your petitioners have sustained much loss and injury, and are not placed in that situation for the exercise of their industry which they had a right to expect.

"That the New Zealand Company, although under contract to expend the public funds of this settlement in the stipulated manner above mentioned, although calling itself the trustee for the purchase-money of the land in the settlement (see Parliamentary Papers), and although at the present time it admits, by its seventeenth Report, a liability to Nelson of £57,000, did, in the month of June, 1844, suddenly and without warning cease all expenditure in the settlement, throwing a body of 300 labourers out of employment, causing thereby the greatest insecurity, and much suffering from destition, nor has it, from that date up to the present time, expended any money in fulfilment of its engagements.

"That the New Zealand Company has lately communicated to the colonists some regulations for the disposal of lands in the settlement of Nelson, until further notice, which appear to your petitioners unjust and injurious, and have produced a very general apprehension that it is not the intention of the Company to fulfil its contracts or make any compensation to its purchasers.

"That no legal redress can be obtained in this colony from the New Zealand Company, or its agents, while it is next to impossible for most of your petitioners to have recourse to the courts of law in England.

"Your petitioners therefore pray that it will please your honourable House to pass an act enabling your petioners to obtain legal redress in the colony of New Zealand, by suing the principal agent or other officer of the Company, or to take such other measures as to your honourable House may seem most fit and expedient to forward the views of your petitioners.

"And your petitioners will ever pray.

"C. A. Dillon.
"D. Monro.
"Donald Sinclair.
"Hugh Martin.
"&c. &c. &c."

In April, 1846, certain remedial measures for the grievances of the Nelson settlers, into the nature of which it is not necessary to enter, were proposed by the directors in the form of regulations for the disposal of lands in that settlement. The colonists assembled, drew up and forwarded to the Company, by common consent, an indignant protest against the newly issued regulations, on the following sufficient grounds:—

"Because they are an infringement, without our consent, of the contract under which we purchased our lands.

"Because from the words, 'until further notice,' we infer that it is in contemplation by the Company to make still further changes.

"Because a larger proportion of our funds is appropriated by the Company than under the original agreement.

"Because the surveys are to be charged to the settlement.

"Because the principle that every purchaser is entitled to good and available land for his money is not admitted.

"Because the allotments, too small already, ought not to be further subdivided.

"Because the calculations of 'New Proceeds' are founded on utter misapprehension.

"Because the religious and educational funds were subscribed without any such conditions as are now attempted to be annexed to their employment.

"Because these regulations have a tendency to induce purchasers of land, under the pressure of adverse circumstances, to compound and accept less than they are justly entitled to under the original contract."

At the commencement of the next year a rumour reached Nelson that the governor was to be removed from New Zealand, and that the powers of government were to be delegated to the New Zealand Company; upon which the settlers again called a public meeting and passed several resolutions, copies of which were forwarded to the colonial minister by Governor Grey, deprecatory of the anticipated change, as objectionable in theory, and not calculated practically to improve their condition. In the fifth and sixth resolutions, the colonists declare,—

"That, apart from such general considerations, we feel most strongly opposed to any such delegation of the powers of government as is sought for by the New Zealand Company; because *our experience of the administration of the affairs of this settlement by that body has convinced us of its incapacity, and destroyed all confidence on our part, either in the wisdom of its measures, or in the integrity of its conduct.*

"That the twentieth report of the directors of the New Zealand Company lately received the letter of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield appended to it, and the report of the committee upon that letter, are all characterised by a most extraordinary ignorance of the state of the colony, and of their own settlements in particular, by predictions of which the subsequent course of events has shown the absurdity in the most striking manner; and by the suggestion of a course of policy for the future, based upon error, visionary and impracticable."*

One more appeal from Nelson, the most touching of all, still remains to be noticed, namely, the "Memorial of mechanics and labourers claiming compensation from the New Zealand Company." After describing the difficulty which they had had in inducing the agent to give them employment, notwithstanding the distinct pledge given to them in that respect by the Secretary of the Company before leaving England; they say that they were at length compelled to work, or starve, under a system which was

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, December, 1847, pp. 11, 12.

the nearest approach to pauperism that could have been adopted—not at their respective trades, as they had been led to suppose, but at the clearing of forests and the making of ditches and roads:—

"Some of our fellow-emigrants, after a short stay, found means, some by working their passage, others by selling their clothes, tools, and other little effects, to leave the settlement,* and we trust thereby escaped those miseries, amounting almost to starvation, which most of us were subjected to. * * * We commenced the work ordered to be done by leaving our families, and proceeding, with a week's provisions, our bedding and tools on our backs, to a distance, varying from one to thirty miles, through districts of hills, swamps, forests, and rivers, penetrable only by excessive exertion: those of us who were stationed farthest off would reach our destination almost exhausted, where we had to erect temporary huts of fern, or such other material as the locality afforded, to shelter us at night; and how inadequate these hovels were to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, many have had too sorrowful proofs on being afflicted with rheumatism and other disorders, consequent upon exposure to damp and night air. Our work consisted in clearing timber, digging roads and ditches, being in this part of our work for days up to our knees in water, intensely cold, for which we received the following wages:—Single men, per week, ten shillings; married men, with two children, sixteen shillings; married men, with three or more children, eighteen shillings. * * * At last the period arrived when the whole of us, even those who occupied land, were discharged, and a state of distress arose almost impossible to describe; food of every description became so scarce, that seed potatoes, which had been in the ground a fortnight, were dug up to appease hunger; for months most of us never tasted bread, but were forced to eat wild greens, and in some instances rats were eaten to satisfy and sustain us. Many were thus forced to abandon the land they had commenced cultivating, and go to work for those of the land-purchasers who were able to employ us, we may say at the nominal rent of 12*s.* per week; for, having to take just such goods as they happened to possess, and at their own prices, we believe we state the outside when we say we had not more than 8*s.* per week. For a great many months a large number of us had no other food than potatoes, and cheap as salt was, few could raise even that necessary to eat with them: the consequence of living on this and worse food for so long a time, produced in our families most distressing cases of diarrhœa, and such a general prostration of physical strength as to incapacitate us from doing the labour within a day that we had been accustomed to do, and from the effects of which we doubt not our health has been greatly impaired, and if we were in England, could scarcely obtain that medical certificate which was essential to our obtaining a passage out here.

"We feel we should not fulfil the whole of our duty if we omit to bring before you the case of the widows and orphans of those of our fellow-labourers who were induced, and in some instances forced, under the penalty of losing their employment, to accompany your agent to the Wairau; and suggest on their behalf, that whatever may be the result of our own claim, that full justice may be done to them, and that their loss may in some measure be mitigated by the presentation of such a portion of land to the children, as, when they attain to sufficient age, may enable them to provide for themselves, and assist their widowed mothers."†

The sorrowful tales of individual suffering endured by the settlers of Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth,‡ Wanganui, and Manawatu, can have no place in a work of this nature. Sufficient evidence has already been adduced from public documents, to show the general sense of wrong and injury entertained by them against the Company, whom they unite in accusing of wilful disregard of their interests. Their statements are corroborated by the testimony of Governor Grey, upon whom the ungracious task of settling their land-claims had devolved. The amount of compensation to which he considered the natives entitled, was deemed excessive by the Company, especially in the case of the Porirua and Wairau districts, to which the Land Commissioner had decided the claim of that body to be wholly unfounded. With regard to the Wairau, Mr. Spain had reported, that though aware that the question necessarily involved a reference to the melancholy occurrence connected with it, he had, nevertheless, come to the decision expressed above, after much and careful deliberation, after a consideration of the evidence which had been given on the whole case, and which he could not but declare, had failed to prove in any way that the district in question had ever been alienated by the parties from whom the Company asserted, through its agent, that it had been purchased.§

The sum of £2,000, by instalments, was agreed to be paid to the native owners for the Porirua, and £3,000 for the Wairau district, by the governor, who thus states the circumstances under which the arrangements were made, sets forth the view

* "When I took charge of the Company's affairs in 1843, there were only fifty labourers regularly employed by the agriculturists. Also out of about 3,000 sent out by you, 937 re-emigrated."—*Vide* Report of the Settlement of Nelson, by W. Fox, Esq., 1849, p. 14. The above avowal reads strangely from the pen of the agent of a Company, who professed to have succeeded in solving the difficult problem of rightly adjusting the proportions of capital and labour.

† This memorial was signed by J. P. Robinson, I. M. Hill, J. Packer, John Watts, J. Hargreaves, &c. &c.—*Vide Nelson Examiner*, April 27th, 1850.

‡ The New Plymouth colonists forwarded a memorial to the Court of Directors, to much the same effect as those already quoted from Wellington and Nelson, which I have seen, but at the present time am unable to obtain a copy.

§ Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, April, 1846, p. 41.

of the land-question acted upon by the Company, and exposes the culpable indifference manifested by them, and not by her Majesty's government, to the great distress occasioned by the non-settlement of their land claims:—

"After I had been for more than fifteen months in the colony, I found that the agent of the New Zealand Company was making no effort to acquire the tracts of land required by the Company to fulfil their engagements; and, as great distress from the non-settlement of their land-claims existed amongst the settlers, and as it was impossible for the country to settle down into a thoroughly tranquil state until these questions were definitely arranged, and her Majesty's government has so repeatedly urged upon myself and my predecessor the necessity of a prompt adjustment of them, I felt it to be my duty, although I would most gladly have avoided engaging in so difficult and ungracious a task, to make the most advantageous settlement of these questions which I could effect.

"I should also observe that the position I understand to be adopted by the New Zealand Company's agent, that if tracts of land are not in actual occupation and cultivation by natives, that we have, therefore, a right to take possession of them, appears to me to require one important limitation. The natives do not support themselves solely by cultivation, but from fern-root—from fishing—from eel ponds—from taking ducks—from hunting wild pigs, for which they require extensive runs—and by such like pursuits. To deprive them of their wild lands, and to limit them to lands for the purpose of cultivation, is in fact, to cut off from them some of their most important means of subsistence, and they cannot be readily and abruptly forced into becoming a solely agricultural people. Such an attempt would be unjust, and it must, for the present, fail, because the natives would not submit to it: indeed they could not do so, for they are not yet, to a sufficient extent, provided even with the most simple agricultural implements; nor have they been instructed in the use of these. To attempt to force suddenly such a system upon them must plunge the country again into distress and war; and there seems to be no sufficient reason why such an attempt should be made, as the natives are now generally very willing to sell to the government their waste lands at a price, which, whilst it bears no proportion to the amount for which the government can resell the land, affords the natives (if paid under a judicious system) the means of rendering their position permanently far more comfortable than it was previously, when they had the use of their waste lands, and thus renders them a useful and contented class of citizens, and one which will yearly become more attached to the government.

"I am satisfied, that to have taken the waste lands I have now purchased by any other means than those adopted, would once more have plunged the country into an expensive war, which, from its supposed injustice, would have roused the sympathies of a large portion of the native population against the British government, and would thus probably have retarded for many years the settlement and civilization of the country."

To the various extracts quoted in the last few pages, one more may be added from a very brief but admirably condensed pamphlet, which well deserves the careful perusal of all interested in the powerful association, whose proceedings have, from their commencement, formed an important portion of the history of the colony whose name they bear:—

"The system of sale, selection, survey, and distribution of land, in sections of an allotment, was alone fatal to success—and kept the unfortunate colonist without land, until the little capital which remained to him after the purchase of the land, was absorbed in the expenses of his maintenance, whilst waiting for the discovery, survey, and delivery of the land.

"The writer would maintain that those who have purchased land from the New Zealand Company, and others who have been induced to proceed to New Zealand, or otherwise have been deceived and injured by it in its service as surveyors and contractors, are the parties really entitled to reparation and compensation.

"And that the government *should not aid—but restrain the New Zealand Company*, because it is great wickedness and cruelty (and by the New Zealand Company confessedly incompatible with the dignity of the government,) to induce persons of small capital to buy land which they have not seen —or to induce such, if unaccustomed to manual labour, to emigrate to New Zealand, where they cannot compete with the emigrant labourers who have become cottiers, or with the natives in the cultivation of land."*

The foregoing arguments have all been unfavourable to the Company; on the other hand it was urged, that whatever their errors and short-comings might have been, they had promoted the cause of colonization by bringing it in various ways before the public; that they had founded settlements, that large sums of money, whether lavishly or providently, had been expended through their instrumentality, in emigration, in the conduct of which one great merit was incontestible, viz., that of having carefully avoided that disproportion of sexes which forms a fruitful source of immorality in most new colonies. These arguments, and many less reasonable ones, urged both in and out of parliament by eloquent and deeply interested advocates, among whom the late Charles Buller was ever foremost, and backed by a strong political party, were used with so much success, that not only were greatly extended privileges to those granted to the Company in 1840, conceded to them in 1847; but, in addition to the loan of £100,000 sanctioned by the House of Com-

* *A few Plain Facts concerning the Settlement of Nelson*, pp. 11, 12. Printed by T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, 1848.

mons in the previous session, another large portion (£136,000) of the taxes levied in the United Kingdom was advanced to enable them to resume those very operations which had been attended throughout by signal and disastrous failure. The joint-stock company itself, formed, as we have seen, "with an exclusively commercial object," although it had received "by anticipation," an extravagant price for lands which it did not possess, and, therefore, could have no power to sell, had become avowedly bankrupt, and the "self-supporting colonies" which it had founded had entailed very heavy charges on the mother country. Earl Grey, however, looking rather to the good so influential an association might accomplish, if their means and energies were rightly directed, and considering of what great importance to imperial interests it was that the colonization of New Zealand should go on steadily and rapidly, and that the ancient disposition to plant settlements of Englishmen in her Majesty's distant possessions, should be revived and established, was "inclined, before resorting to any less satisfactory course, to see whether it may not be possible to put the Company itself in a position, by renewing its operations, to repair its losses, and, at the same time, to restore the prosperity of the existing settlements, and make New Zealand the seat of an extensive and thriving colony. * * * Lord Grey is therefore willing to make the government a party to the fair trial of the experiment, whether the Company can be placed in a position that will enable it, after a certain period, to continue its operations without further assistance and with reasonable prospects of success. He is willing, for this purpose, to give the Company the amplest means that can be afforded by the exclusive use of the crown lands in the southern government of New Zealand. He is willing to stipulate for the advance, during a limited period, of considerable sums, for the purpose of enabling the Company *to meet its present liabilities*, and the outlay necessary for the vigorous prosecution of its operations."* The subjoined terms which his lordship, on the part of the government, proposed to the New Zealand Company, were so extremely advantageous to that body, that they were, of course, immediately accepted :—†

"Memorandum of Agreement with the New Zealand Company.

"I. (1.) It is proposed that a commissioner be appointed by her Majesty to be a commissioner for the New Zealand Company.

"(2.) That the name of the person selected by her Majesty be submitted to the directors of the New Zealand Company, and the appointment take place on their signifying their approval.

"(3.) That this commissioner attend all meetings of the directors, and have access to all books, papers, and accounts of the Company, and that the Company shall agree that no resolution shall ever be adopted at any meeting of the directors without the assent of the commissioner.

"(4.) That the commissioner be paid a salary of £1,500 a-year out of the funds of the company.

"II. That during the period for which the present arrangement shall last, the government shall give up to the Company the entire and exclusive disposal of all Crown lands, and the exercise of the Crown's right of pre-emption of lands belonging to the natives in the southern government of New Zealand, and undertake during such period to execute any grants, leases, or mortgages, for which the court of directors and commissioners shall engage.

"III. That during three years commencing the 6th of April ultimo, the government shall engage to place at the disposal of the Company, during the first year such sum of not more than £28,000 over and above any sum now payable to the Company under any former loan, during the second year such sum not exceeding £72,000, and during the third year such sum not exceeding £36,000, as shall be required by the Company and the commissioner from time to time, for the purpose of discharging the existing liabilities of the Company to an extent not exceeding £79,000, and of conducting its colonizing operations.

"That all sums accruing to the Company in each year, beyond those which it is bound to expend for the benefit of the purchasers of its lands, shall be expended in furtherance of the general objects of the Company, with the view of diminishing the amount of advances which may be required from her Majesty's government.

"That during that period no interest shall accrue from any debt to the government, nor for any claim to compensation on the part of the Company.

"That during the first year no dividend shall be paid to the proprietors of the Company's stock, nor any in either of the two following years, without the express sanction of her Majesty's government.

"That the Company shall at once give up all claim to lands in the neighbourhood of Auckland, and take the whole amount awarded to it elsewhere.

"IV. That if the Company shall be in a condition at the end of the three years to continue its operations, the present arrangement with respect to heads I. and II. shall continue, and shall be made permanent either by a new charter or by act of Parliament, upon the Company agreeing to such restriction on its disposal of land, dividends, and application of funds, as shall then be agreed upon between the Company and her Majesty's government.

"That the Company shall in that case abandon all claim to compensation from the government.

* Parliamentary Papers, June, 1847, pp. 111-12.

† This "agreement" was carried out by virtue of an act of Parliament, intituled "an act to promote colonization in New Zealand, and to authorize a loan to the New Zealand Company."

"That all advances already made, or within the period of three years to be made, to the Company by the government, shall be in that case constituted as the Company's debt, the principal of which the Company shall be bound to repay by an annual payment of not less than one-fourth of its clear profits after payment of all expenses.

"V. That if at the end of the three years the Company shall be unable to continue its operations, her Majesty's government shall take the Company's assets, together with the liabilities contracted by it to third parties during that period with the assent of the commissioner, and any debt which may still be due from it to the Nelson settlers.

"That all debts due from the Company to the government shall be remitted, in consideration of the Company's admitted claims on the government.

"That the lands now belonging to the Company, consisting of 1,048,991⅓ acres awarded to it and as yet unsold, together with 24,491½ acres held by it in virtue of purchase within its settlements, shall be taken by the government at the rate of 5*s.* an acre.

"That the Company shall be entitled to payment of the sum so due to it, together with interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. thereon, out of the proceeds of all returns over and above the outlay for surveys and emigration, accruing from the sale of Crown lands in New Zealand, but not from any other source.

"That the New Zealand Company shall thereupon be forthwith dissolved, except for the purpose of receiving such annual payment.

"VI. That neither the Crown nor the New Zealand Company shall, in any part of New Zealand, sell any lands not previously sold by them for any sum less than 20*s.* an acre, nor expend less than 10*s.* an acre of the proceeds of such sale in carrying out emigrants."

Once again the New Zealand Company was placed in a position to make amends for the past, and to adopt for the future, a wiser theory—a more honest practice. Its first step after receiving from government such abundant means for the express purpose of "enabling it to meet its present liabilities," ought unquestionably to have been the fair and full investigation of the various collective and individual claims brought against it, with a view to their immediate liquidation. And its doing so, ought not in justice to the interests of the public to have been merely implied in the agreement as a matter of course, but on the contrary should have formed a leading proviso, the non-fulfilment of which should have rendered every other void. Had this precaution been taken, the injuries sustained by the great body of enterprising colonists, which Earl Grey justly deplores, and especially those of Nelson, would not in the spring of 1851, be still unredressed; nor would they have had so much reason to describe themselves as having, between two stools, fallen to the ground.*

The next important transaction in which the Company engaged, was the establishment of the long projected Scotch Settlement of New Edinburgh, the site for which had been fixed, and the requisite quantity of land purchased in 1844, under the following circumstances:—The directors who, in the first instance, especially desired that Port Cooper should be the locality chosen, through their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, offered Mr. Tuckett the appointments of chief surveyor and acting agent of "New Edinburgh" on that understanding. Mr. Tuckett's melancholy experience at Nelson, of the ruin, blighted hopes, and poverty, consequent on the ineligibility of that district for the requirements of the colonists, induced him to decline being connected with the formation of another settlement, unless he should first be enabled to ascertain the district itself to be calculated to answer the reasonable expectations of the land purchasers and the emigrants. Colonel Wakefield accordingly consented to intrust to him the unfettered selection of the best district in the Middle Island, for the projected settlement, and Governor Fitz-Roy cordially entered into the plan by appointing a gentleman, Mr. J. J. Symonds, to assist (on the part of the government,) in effecting the purchase so soon as the site should be determined.

Mr. Tuckett chartered a small vessel, and proceeded to explore the Middle Island; after careful examination, he fixed upon the country between Otago (or more properly Otakau) and Tokata Point, considering it not merely very superior to the great plain adjacent to Port Cooper, but also far surpassing in natural advantages the most sanguine expectations his previous experience in New Zealand would have permitted him to form. Being possessed of the entire confidence and good-will of the native owners, he found no difficulty in negotiating for the land. He submitted to them a sketch in which the desired district and their intended reserves, were clearly defined, and received in return an offer for the sale of nearly 500,000 acres (more than double the required quantity), for £2,400, signed by

* The directors did not shew the same indifference to their own personal claims, for we find them immediately appropriating £8,277 : 7*s.* : 2*d.* "for attendances of directors at courts and committees, from the 1st of March, 1842, to the 31st of March, 1848." In the following year, £1,180 : 4*s.* : 8*d.* was applied for their benefit. *Vide* 24th and 25th Reports of the Directors of the New Zealand Company.

the chief men on the part of all concerned, without a single dissentient voice.

In transmitting to Colonel Wakefield the offer of so valuable a district at so inconsiderable a price (less than three half-pence per acre for some of the best land in New Zealand), Mr. Tuckett expressed his conviction, that it would be good policy on the part of the New Zealand Company in the scheme of their future settlement, to appropriate as much as sixpence per acre to the remuneration of the natives, to be paid in four annual instalments; he at the same time explained that he could not have obtained an offer of the land at such a price but through the influence of an energetic colonist (Mr. John Jones) with the chiefs.

So different, however, was the opinion of the principal agent on the subject, that we find him in reporting the business to the Court of Directors, adopting a deprecatory tone, and saying that "the purchase-money of the block at Otago, may appear large; but it must be borne in mind that the block contains about 400,000 acres, with 150,000 only of which the Company will be charged, the remaining portion being available for the depasturing the flocks and herds of the settlers. It is probable that the natives would have consented to receive something less; but the sum having been fixed upon by Mr. Tuckett before my arrival at Otago, I thought it better not to disturb his arrangement."* Adverting to Mr. Tuckett's rejection of Port Cooper, Colonel Wakefield says, "the decision he has come to, to fix the New Edinburgh Settlement at or near Otago, is satisfactorily accounted for by his description of the relative merits of the places he has explored. I need not make any remarks on the zealous manner in which Mr. Tuckett has performed his task, further than to express my entire satisfaction at having had the advantage of his judgment and unwearied exertions in determining so important a point as the locality of the proposed settlement."† The directors thought fit to withhold from publication the "description of the relative merits of the places explored," forwarded to them by Colonel Wakefield, and so favourably commented upon, on the plea of its length; the more obvious reason being that they continued bent upon forming a settlement at Port Cooper, and did not choose to publish any but favourable reports of that locality. The native interests at Otago were well cared for by Mr. Tuckett in respect to large and valuable reserves. One of these commencing at the southern headland of the harbour of Otago extends along the south-east shore of the harbour for about four miles, and along the sea-shore outside for six miles. Almost immediately after the completion of the purchase, this large reserve was occupied as a dairy-station by squatters, from Wellington, who made an arrangement for this object with one chief, Karitai, from which it is not likely that the natives in general will derive any benefit, whilst the pasture, and consequently the opportunity of keeping stock themselves will be lost to them. The first settlers sailed for Otago in November, 1847; in the same year another "class" settlement was projected which at the present moment occupies a considerable share of public attention, viz., that of New Canterbury.

The directors of the New Zealand Company in their first official notice of the intended settlement, and of the association by which it had been set on foot, entirely identify themselves with the interests and views of both the one and the other, stating in the twenty-fourth report to the court of proprietors (p. 6), "Its site will be fixed in the territory confided to your administration; its strength be sustained by the aid of your (? the public) funds till such time as the lands purchased from you shall be laid out and resales effected to some considerable extent; and while in all probability it will obtain, by means of a royal charter, the power of separate and independent action, it will remain a perpetual and most gratifying record of the principles of colonisation at which you have always aimed, and of the usefulness of which, had not adverse influences thwarted, you might long ago have become the frequent instrument."

This pompous declaration appears to be so far true, that in the system adopted by the Canterbury Association, there may unhappily be traced several of the primary errors which have peculiarly marked the proceedings of the New Zealand Company, especially that of fixing a ruinously high price on land. At a public meeting of the Association (after its incorporation by royal charter, in November, 1849, with a view to the formation of a settlement, "in which, from the very first, all the elements of a sound and right state of society shall be in

* Seventeenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, pp. 142, 143.

† *Idem*, p. 131.

active operation,"*) Lord Lyttelton, as chairman, stated that—

"With regard to the details of the plan, the first that he thought it necessary to notice was a matter of considerable importance,—the price of land. The association had placed upon the whole of the extensive district held in trust for them, comprising considerably more than 2,000,000 acres, the price of £3 an acre. On this point some explanation was necessary, for that value was considerably more than had been placed on the land in any of our colonies at the period of their original occupation; and many of those present might be aware that the price of £1 an acre, demanded by the government throughout the Australian colonies, was very generally complained of as being too high. The whole of the land of the southern province of New Zealand, including the whole of the Middle and a portion of the Northern island, was for selling purposes in the hands of the New Zealand Company. Now, of the £3 an acre charged by the Canterbury Association, *one-sixth, or* 10s., *was to go to the New Zealand Company as the actual price of the land;* another sixth was to be applied to the general expenses of the association in this country and in the colony; one third, or £1, was to be applied to promote emigration, in order to meet the demand for labour; and the remaining £1 was to be devoted to the leading and cardinal feature of the undertaking—the provision, from the very beginning of the colony, of religious and educational establishments. To the provision, on this scale, of such establishments, he wished particularly to call the attention of the meeting. This was a chartered association, and was bound to constitute a colony according to the principles of the Church of England."

Mr. Samuel Sidney, in an able and honest speech, exposed several of the evils attendant upon fixing so high a price, particularly that of its excluding the most valuable and enterprising class of emigrants, but without effect; at least so far as the leading members of the Association were concerned. The utter fallacy of the notion of a body of colonists going out to form at once a "daguerreotype miniature of England, complete in every respect, in religious principle, in education, and in all social influences; and only incomplete in the reproduction of those vices, which, most unfortunately, crept into an old country, and that pressure from without, which fell so heavily upon all classes of society here,"† could scarcely fail to be understood by all conversant to any extent with the practical details of the first establishment of colonies. At all events, the Canterbury Association have no excuse for shielding themselves under the plea of ignorance, having received the following very explicit warning on this and some other points, from one of their warmest well-wishers, Dr. Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand—

"You are a body which ought and will be able to dispense with all trickery and gambling.

"In the first place, it is a pure delusion to talk of founding a colony at once. * * * A more wasteful system could not be devised than that of congregating large bodies of settlers at once upon the same spot, requiring at once exactly the same supplies, and tempted by their discomforts and their necessities to acquiesce in the most extortionate prices for everything that they buy. If a settler has to pay £100 for a house worth only £50, it is a clear loss to the community, especially as the money generally goes to some other settlement, from which the supplies must, in the first instance, be derived. The loss which is sustained by a new community from the excessive price of all the necessaries of life is incalculable. My advice, therefore, is, form as large a plan as you please, but carry it out gradually and cautiously. Let each section settle itself before the next arrives, that it may be a help instead of a hindrance to the new comers. An interval of at least a year would secure this, and would enable each detachment to arrive at such a time as to have the summer before it, which is a point of great importance in a wet climate.

"On the organization of these sections I would suggest that the arrangement should not be merely numerical, but local and topographical. Let a good leader, like a queen bee, undertake to form the township of Oxford, or Stratford, or Mandeville, or what you will, and secure a right good clergyman and schoolmaster as the first step. Then, as in the old Roman armies, *legit virum vir;* let all the Oxford men send in their names to their own leader, with recommendations of good, hardworking, honest, and sober labourers for the free emigrants. When the Oxford leader is able to announce that land is bought at Oxford to a sufficient amount to yield an endowment for a clergyman, and to build a church and school, then let due notice be given to the agent in New Zealand, that on the 1st day of November, 185— or thereabouts, he may expect the Oxonians. If possible, a bishop will be there to meet and receive them, and accompany them at once to their own place, where a pretty wooden spire will be already built, and visible far over the plain, to guide them to the house of God, where they may offer up their thanksgivings for their successful voyage. There they ought to find a store of building timber and firewood already laid in, at fixed, but not extortionate prices, and will be able to settle themselves in peace, and be ready to give a helping hand on reasonable terms to the flight of Stratfordites, who will arrive about the same time on the following year."

The bishop then proceeds to discuss the best means of securing the objects aimed at by the Association, namely, to supply the colony with a sufficiency of labour at the

* Speech of Lord Courtenay, M.P., at the above-named meeting, which was held at St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre, on the 18th of April, 1850, "for the purpose of giving information concerning the objects, plans, progress, and prospects" of the Canterbury Assocation.—*Vide Times*, 19th April, 1850.

† *Vide Times*, of December, 1850, for notice of Captain Simeon's speech, at a meeting of the Canterbury Association.

**least cost to the emigration fund, taking care that the supply should always bear a due proportion to the demand.**

"To secure these objects, many ingenious calculations have been made, with about as much effect as the numeration which we used to practise on our brass buttons at school, allotting to each its due title of soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor, gentleman, apothecary, ploughboy, or thief. That all these elements do enter into the composition of all societies cannot be doubted, but no chemistry of the emigration commissioners will ever discover beforehand, in what proportions they must be mixed to form a healthy community. But all these things will find their own simple and natural adjustment, if neither the tinker nor the apothecary be employed. Colonies will work well if they are let alone. When your Oxford section has taken up its ground, they will soon find out their own wants. A blacksmith will be found to have been left out, and every one will be crying out for some one to mend his plough. 'Why, I have a cousin that's just the man we want,' some one will say; 'Could we not get him out to help us?' 'I will give £1 to his passage, and he can pay me in work.' 'I will give another.' 'May be the association will go halves in the expenses.' 'Write and ask.' The next year, out comes the Oxford blacksmith at half-price. 'Which is the way to Oxford?' 'Where you see that spire out yonder. But won't you stay in the emigration-barrack till you hear whether you can get work?' 'What do I want of an emigration-barrack? Is it not bad enough to have been shut up in a ship? I know Mr. Goodfellow; he is my cousin; he will put me up till I can get a place for myself.' The above is a true description of what is going on every day in a thriving colony. One man has more food than he knows what to do with, and he wishes for some poor relation to come and help him to eat it; another remembers some country lass, whom he did not dare to ask to marry him when he had nothing to offer her; a tradesman has business on his hand, and wants a youth to keep his books; a mechanic has more work than he can do, and would be glad of a mate. All these know exactly the sort of person that is wanted, and will not send for him unless he can be well employed. Demand and supply represent one another by the simplest and most natural adjustment, and at the cheapest rate of expense.

"The next great point is, that I advise you most strongly to give up, for the present, at least, all the usual trickery of town acres; I mean at the central or post-towns, for the country towns will not much excite the mania of speculation. In Port Cooper this seems to be more especially necessary, because a few lucky purchasers, engrossing the whole of the small quantity of available land near the anchorage, will have it in their power to put the public to the greatest inconvenience. The defects also of the site of Christchurch are so great, that I would not advise you to put it in the power of any body of purchasers to demand a great outlay of public money to give them a better access to their town-land. The *plain* is the great point at Port Cooper. A good road over the hills, and a few public stores on the beach, where goods can be warehoused by the association at paid charges, and a small quantity of land let to retail shopkeepers, will enable the settlers to be‑in their operation The excess of mercantile speculation is a cause of great loss to a new community. It seems to be so much easier to buy and sell than to dig and plough, that half the population become shopkeepers as if by magic, the gentry dignifying their employment by the name of storekeeping. You would suppose that 'slops,' rice, and sugar, were the spontaneous produce of the soil, and that men believed that they could grow rich by merely exchanging one with another the fruits of the labours of others, without working for themselves. Of course, what is easy to all will be done by too many, and therefore will be profitable to very few. And thus the country, with its mine of wealth, is robbed of the industry which would have made it profitable, and the town, like a great lazy tumour, drains and wastes the resources of the body, without contributing anything in return. My advice is, plant the country, and let the town grow of itself. Let the course and progress of the colony show when, where, and by whom, stores, manufactories, &c., ought to be established. When the need is shown by a demand, town land can be sold or let with a privilege of purchase, and then the actual merchant will become the proprietor, instead of having to buy or rent his land on exorbitant terms from some absentee owner, who has pre-occupied the best positions for business.

"To pass on to the higher and more important branches of your plan: the provision for education and religion. The example of the China bishopric is a warning how long good plans may be delayed if you wait till the endowment fund be complete. The American system seems to be the best. Have a bishop at all events. It is not at all certain that you will get a better man for £1,000 than for £100 a-year. Such matters are no question of money. Let him get his money as he can for a time—whether as warden of the college or as a parish priest; till the growth of endowments and the increase of duties lead naturally to a subdivision of labour. A colonial bishop in a new colony cannot at first be fully occupied with the duties of his office. If he confines himself to them, he may grow an idle man without knowing why. But in the practical working, as well as superintending institutions not strictly within his own duties, he will find the means of keeping up that habitual energy which his own office will require before many years are past. If you can find a bishop of all-work, he ought to be the first clergyman to land in New Zealand."

**There is another portion of Dr. Selwyn's letter, which intending Canterbury settlers would do well to peruse carefully, viz., that in which the Bishop, picturing a meeting of such persons engaged in canvassing their future resources, supposes them to argue thus:—**

"£3 an acre is a large sum to give for land, and one acre will only feed four sheep;* their wool will weigh about twelve pounds; and we shall be lucky to get from 7*d*. to 9*d*. per pound from the merchants at Port Cooper, so that the clear profits cannot well

* Mr. Tuckett states most decidedly that "the Great Plain adjacent to Port Cooper *will not feed one sheep to the acre*, but that the upland grasses of Banks' Peninsula, will probably feed two or even three to the acre."

be more than 6*d.* per pound, or 6*s.* for the acre, that is, just ten per cent. on our purchase-money. Well, so long as we can live and bring up our families, we have no wish to make fortunes. In fact, the school, the church, and clergyman, are the true interest for the outlay, and not the produce of the land, or the increase of flocks and herds; for this profit has found its limits in the Australian colonies by an excess of all the necessaries of life, and by reducing nine-tenths of the settlers to be their own tallow-chandlers."

Now, if the intending emigrants have really, one and all, arrived at this conclusion, after a careful examination of the various circumstances likely to exercise a practical bearing upon their future position,—there is nothing further to be said on the matter, save to express the earnest desire for their prosperity, in which every member of the Church of England cannot but participate; and not churchmen, only, but likewise all who desire to see religion recognised as a vital principle, equally essential to the well-being of an infant settlement or an extensive empire. In their careful and systematic provision for the due observance of religious ordinances, the Canterbury Association have indeed set a bright example to all colonising bodies; nor is it in this respect alone that their proceedings contrast strikingly with those of the New Zealand Company,† inasmuch as they can at once give their purchasers an equitable and legal title, as well as immediate possession of the land which they offer for sale; whereas the Company (except in the case of Otago,) could do neither the one nor the other.

But the question still remains, whether among the large body of colonists who it is reported intend leaving their native land in June, 1851, there are not many individuals who have been led to form very exaggerated notions of the natural advantages of the country whither they are going, and especially of that portion of it in which they are most materially interested. Has the fact been fully and fairly set before them, that the territory sold by the New Zealand Company to the Canterbury Association, at 10*s.* per acre, for the express purpose of forming a very extensive settlement, had been previously rejected by the surveyor of the former body, after careful and approved examination, as absolutely unfit, and affording an insufficient quantity of good land for the considerably smaller requirements of the scheme of New Edinburgh?

Have the intending emigrants really, each one for himself, counted the cost, and carefully weighed the grounds upon which they are asked to give £3 per acre for land in one part of New Zealand, when they might select for themselves, as good, if not better, in other localities, for half or even a third of that price? It is well known, that in all new colonies an emigrant with ready money at his disposal, can scarcely fail to meet with more advantageous opportunities for its investment in land suited to his wants, than he could reasonably hope for at the hands of any body of men in England, however energetic and well-intentioned. The temptation of a cheap passage out has induced many a man to take a land-order, which has subsequently proved a heavy clog upon his freedom of action, and compelled him either to remain in a disadvantageous position, to dispose of it at a heavy sacrifice (should he have had the opportunity, which is very doubtful), or to treat the parchment for which he has paid so highly like a piece of waste paper.‡

It is difficult to understand upon what resource the projectors of the Canterbury settlement rely for its exports, or their land-purchasers for the recovery of the capital sunk in purchasing, which should

* The Bishop of Norwich, in a speech addressed to the first expedition of the Canterbury settlers, at a public breakfast given to them by the Association shortly before their departure from England, remarked that "it was about twelve years ago that he was present at a great colonists' breakfast like that, and the present occasion reminded him of the circumstances. The first body of colonists to New Zealand (Wellington) were then taking their departure, but they carried out with them no minister of religion, and there were none already before them, nor did they know whether any would follow." —*Times*, July 31st, 1850.

† *Vide* a little work entitled *Remarks on the Past and Present State of New Zealand*, by Walter Brodie, p. 118. A letter from the author, who returned to England about a year ago, was published in *The Times* of May 16th, 1851, in which he declares that he cannot imagine how men with wives and families can be so foolish as to pay £3 per acre to the Canterbury Association, when they might go into the northern part, and buy it of government at £1 per acre, with as good a title as they expect by paying £3 per acre for. By paying £300 for 100 acres, £35 goes towards the passage out, leaving £165 for the support of the church, school, and roads, a very large item, and one which no colonist can afford. Mr. Brodie adds, that a colonist, by taking his money out with him, will not only benefit the colony generally, but himself, as ready money there will command many good farms at £1 per acre, and much good land at 10*s.*, from settlers wishing to sell.

have been spent in improving their land. The emigrant labourers cannot be sent out as serfs, and it is not likely that any other inducement than the temporary one of high wages will lead them, as a body, to remain in a settlement where they cannot hope to become cultivators of their own land. And how long will the resident proprietors be able to afford this scale of remuneration? and (strangely as it may sound in English ears,) how long will they be able to compete as producers with the Maori chiefs, who are daily acquiring proficiency both in agriculture and mechanics, and who can command a very considerable supply of native labour? There is reason to believe that they cannot do so even now, for it is stated on very good authority, that "the natives can always undersell the European competitor, and they therefore supply most of the wheat, maize, potatoes, pigs, poultry, and such other articles required by the colonists as are the produce of the colony."* Where, then, will they find a market, when the military force, whose presence now creates so large a demand for home consumption, shall be materially reduced?

The preliminary expedition of surveyors, accompanied by the Resident Chief Agent of the settlement, J. R. Godley, Esq., reached Port Cooper in April, 1850; the first body of colonists (1,200 in number,) sailed from Plymouth in the autumn of 1850, and, it is stated, will be followed by the "main body" in June, 1851; notwithstanding the warnings of the Bishop and other authorities on the inexpediency of this mode of proceeding. Up to November, 1850, the quantity sold amounted to 14,000 acres; and the extent of pasturage let, with a pre-emptive right of purchase, was 70,000 acres.†

A few leading features in the history of New Zealand remain to be noticed. In April, 1847, an unfortunate circumstance occurred, which produced a temporary renewal of hostilities on the part of the natives. Mr. Crozier, a midshipman of H.M.S. *Calliope*, was paying a chief for some work done in thatching his hut, when a pistol he had in his hand exploded, seriously wounding the native in the head. A number of the Maories, who had witnessed the act, became greatly excited, believing it to have been intentional. In the afternoon, a deputation came to the principal stockade, to request that the young officer might be given up to them, promising that no harm should come to him, unless their friend died. This being refused, six of his relatives, in a furious access of revengeful feeling, attacked the house of an out-settler, Mr. Gilfillan, who, having received a severe wound from a tomahawk, and seeing the impossibility of making any effectual resistance, made his escape through a side window, in compliance with the urgent solicitations of his wife, who represented to him that his life alone was aimed at, that she had no fear for herself or her family, "because the Maories never injured women or children."‡ On reaching the military station (six miles distant), Mr. Gilfillan declared that the natives were out in all directions, and this, together with its being a very dark night, and the road to the farm an ill defined track, only known to a few of the settlers, and not easily found even by daylight, prevented any one going until daybreak on the following morning, when a party, while proceeding thither, met on their way two little children, wet through with the heavy dew, and shivering with cold, who told them that their mother and the rest of the family had been murdered, and the house plundered and burned to the ground. Soon after their father's escape, their mother had contrived to get them out of the house unseen, and they had remained hidden in a neighbouring ravine all night. The lifeless bodies of the unhappy lady and three of her children, confirmed, to a melancholy extent, the truth of this horrible tale, but a young girl of about seventeen was found in a neighbouring cow-shed, still living, though with a deep tomahawk wound in her forehead, and holding in her arms an infant, who was uninjured. Another babe lay outside the shed, sleeping and unhurt.§ The following night the officers at the military stockade were aroused by a messenger, bearing information that five out of the six murderers had been taken by six

* *Vide* Letter, dated Government-house, Wellington, 18th of April, 1848, and evidently written by Lieutenant-governor Eyre, published in *Colonial Intelligencer*, of September, 1848, p. 86.

† *Vide* a tract, entitled *Brief Information about the Canterbury Settlement*, published by the Association, p. 5.

‡ Mr. Gilfillan's evidence at the Court Martial, held at Wanganui, on the 23rd of April, 1847.—Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of December, 1847, p. 74.

§ *Vide Sketches in New Zealand*, by Tyrone Power, D.A.C.G., p. 86 to 93, for a simple but pathetic narrative of the whole affair.

natives of the Putiki village, who had hazarded their own lives, to prove that they had had no participation in so barbarous a crime, and felt no sympathy with the perpetrators. The men were tried by court martial, four of them were immediately executed, and the fifth, (a mere lad,) was sentenced to transportation for life.* The fear of an attempted rescue, and the difficulty of sending the prisoners from Wanganui to Wellington, a distance of 120 miles, doubtless induced this proceeding; but the more legitimate, and therefore, satisfactory course, would certainly have been to have delivered up the culprits, to be dealt with by the civil authorities. Power, in his graphic account of the whole proceeding, says "the relations and friends of the men who were hanged, are all in the taua (war party), and are infuriated against us," and, without questioning the justice of the sentence, he describes it as having excited, more or less ill-will throughout the country.

Skirmishes with the troops, of whom about 300 were then at Wanganui, commenced, the outsettlers were compelled to abandon their farms; no one ventured to stir out of the town unarmed, and every man was to be seen driving his sheep and cattle with a gun on his shoulder, and pistols in his belt. In commenting upon this wretched state of things, Power remarks, that it had been supposed by some, that the presence of the troops would be a protection, but wiser men predicted that their coming would be the harbinger of war. "The troops certainly protect the pork butchers of the town, and the drunken riff-raff of which its inhabitants are principally composed; but the real settlers, who have cattle and land to attend to, cannot work under the guns of a stockade, and are therefore particularly exposed to any sudden attack, and cut off before assistance can reach them. To make them secure, nothing less would do than a sentry over every cow, and a serjeant's guard in attendance on each labourer; and even this is scarcely as much as some of them expect."†—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 97.

On the 18th of May, the Maories made a regular attack upon the town, advancing on all sides, and getting possession of the bullet proof houses in the outskirts of the town, from which they kept up a steady fire, while parties of them carried off the plunder; at length their leader, Maketu, was shot through the head, on which they immediately retreated. They then resumed their ordinary guerilla style of warfare, stealing the cattle and sheep, and burning down the dwellings vacated by the out-settlers, until, at the expiration of about a fortnight, Governor Grey arrived from Auckland, accompanied by Walker Nene, Te Whero-Whero, and other natives, and bringing with him reinforcements, both military and naval. An encounter took place on the 19th of July, in which the loss on the side of the Europeans was two killed and twelve wounded; that of the natives was supposed to be considerably more, an unusual circumstance, the British having on previous occasions been the greatest sufferers, even in respect of the amount of bloodshed, and in all other points incomparably so; the impracticable nature of the country leaving them no resource but to remain in fortified positions, until the enemy should see fit to come and attack them; their opponents, meanwhile, sustaining no injury but what might result from contests provoked by themselves, or from the temporary deprivation of such articles of convenience or luxury as their advance in civilization should have rendered customary and valuable to them.

How little interruption to their ordinary pursuits had been occasioned by the warfare which had well-nigh completed the ruin of the remnant of the unfortunate band (consisting at first of about 600 persons, but at the commencement of these hostilities reduced to less than 200,) who had been induced by the delusive promises of the New Zealand Company to locate on the disputed Wanganui territory, may be understood from the following facts. No sooner had peace been proclaimed and intercourse resumed between the natives and the colonists on a friendly footing, than the former poured in supplies of potatoes for sale, and that very year are stated, on trustworthy authority to have reaped nearly 2,000 acres of wheat, all of which must have been planted during the most active

* Bishop Selwyn, in a letter to Governor Grey, (Parl. Papers, July, 1849, p. 38,) states that the only two instances upon which he had ever offered any remarks upon the acts of the government, were the military executions at Porirua and Wanganui.

† From March, 1845, to July, 1847, the total loss on the side of the British was 85 killed and 167 wounded. According to the governor's estimate, every 100 men who fell must have cost at least £10,000.

part of the war.* Governor Grey instances the proceedings at Wanganui, as clearly showing how much the settlers were still dependent upon the natives, and how essential it was that nothing should be done, which by alienating the affections of the great mass of the native population, should drive them all into open rebellion.† This conclusion was precisely the same that Governors Hobson and Fitz-Roy had previously arrived at, and Captain Grey, acting upon the same principle as his predecessors, took the course which common sense and common honesty alike dictated. It had been by this time clearly ascertained that the only rallying cry which would unite the scattered tribes of New Zealand, and induce them to commence a war of race, would be any attempt on the part of the government to assume a territorial right over their land. The shadow of the land was to go to Queen Victoria, the substance to remain with them; this had been their original, their only reading of the treaty of Waitangi—from it they had never swerved. That construction they had been assured by the missionaries to be the true one, and successive governors, the bishop, and the chief-justice, in answer to frequent appeals, had invariably repeated the same assurance of the total absence of any intention on the part of the crown, to encroach upon their territorial rights, or infringe upon the spirit or the letter of the treaty of Waitangi.

The question once settled, that all lands desired by Europeans, whether by government, by associations, or by individuals, could not be obtained without the full and free consent of the native proprietors; and the fact established, (as it had been, most satisfactorily,) that those proprietors were ready and willing to dispose of it on very moderate terms, the governor's path would seem to have been as straightforward as could be desired—a little more to be expended on the natives, and a great deal less on military defences, that was all. Unhappily for the three parties most deeply interested—the government, the colonists, and the natives—there was yet a fourth, now more influential than ever, whose mischievous policy had long threatened to produce exterminating warfare. The extraordinary powers vested in the hands of the New Zealand Company by the agreement of 1847, had raised much serious and well-founded apprehension throughout the colony, and Lieutenant-governor Eyre, on becoming acquainted with the clause (see p. 243,) by which the government surrendered to the Company all the crown lands in the Middle and Southern Island, during a certain period, as well as the exercise of the crown's right of pre-emption of lands therein situated belonging to the natives, and undertook *to execute any grants, leases, or mortgages, for which the Court of Directors and Commissioner should engage;*—immediately addressed the Governor-in-chief on the subject, requesting him to observe, that the last promise was quite unconditional, no reference being made to the natives, either with regard to the reservation to them of the lands they occupied and cultivated, or the purchase from them of their interests in those over which they claim a general ownership. He adds, "I need hardly point out to your excellency how impossible it will be for a Court of Directors and a Commissioner, resident in London, to ascertain or decide what are the just rights of the natives; and still less need I urge, how utterly impracticable it would be to put the New Zealand Company in possession of the lands which might be granted them, unless those rights are *first acknowledged and satisfactorily disposed of.* No one who has not been in New Zealand, can have any true idea of the real state of this subject, or of the many difficulties and disasters which cannot but occur, if a summary and final decision upon questions connected with the land be made in London, and ordered to be carried out by the local authorities here. I feel quite satisfied, that no number of troops which England can send, would be sufficient for the purpose, if those decisions are not founded upon the circumstances actually existing in the colony, and based upon the strictest justice." Governor Grey, in reply, stated that the crown had only undertaken to place its own rights at the disposal of the Company, and was, consequently, not bound by the agreement to any interference with the rights of any third party, whether natives or Europeans.‡

* *Vide* Letter of Lieutenant-governor Eyre, before referred to (p. 249), and published in the *Colonial Intelligencer, or Aborigines' Friend* of September, 1848, p. 82.

† Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, published December, 1847, p. 55.

‡ Parliamentary Papers relative to New Zealand, published in 1848, p. 19.

This, however, though true and satisfactory to a certain extent, was very far from affording a sufficient explanation of the main point at issue; namely, what the territorial rights delegated to the Company actually were. The definition of the vague terms "crown," "waste," and "unoccupied" lands given by that body was equally comprehensive and convenient. They considered that the demesnes of the crown would be found [or made] to comprehend almost the whole of the Middle Island, and with partial exceptions, all the land in the vicinity of the Company's settlements on the Northern Island; and that consequently large tracts, in addition to the Company's own estate, would be instantly placed at the command of the directors.*

This view of the case their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield† and his successor, Mr. Fox, urged with great pertinacity, maintaining that the government were bound to put the Company in possession of a certain amount of lands, to be obtained either by confiscation or purchase from the natives, but in either case to be bestowed gratuitously on them. The instructions of Governor Grey were, however, quite incompatible with these expectations. He had been directed to retain the exclusive management of all negotiations with the natives for the sale of their lands; and informed that when any transactions of this sort were concluded in the Southern Province, the New Zealand Company were to provide the means of payment from funds placed at their disposal, and to have the disposal of the lands so acquired.‡ When, therefore, Lieutenant-governor Eyre informed him that Mr. Fox maintained that her majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies had "laid it down as an incontrovertible position" that the natives were only entitled to a proprietary right in such lands as they actually occupied, according to the definition of "occupation" given in the royal instructions, and that consequently the title of the crown to nearly the whole of the Middle and Southern Island, ought at once to have been asserted by the local government on behalf of the Company, who would thereby have been spared the necessity of laying out large sums of money in negotiating purchases from the natives,§ he at once appealed to Earl Grey. In an able despatch, dated March, 1849, he expresses his fear that the Company might "continue to endeavour to compel the government to adopt principles which could not be carried out without giving rise to a war, for causing which no responsibility would rest upon the New Zealand Company, nor would they be liable for the heavy expenses which it would occasion. The succeeding paragraphs are too important to admit of abridgment, especially as the greater part of them refer to questions of immediate and primary importance:—

"Your lordship will, I think, see that the present arrangement with the New Zealand Company creates a state of things which must cause confusion and disaster. It might have answered as a temporary arrangement for the purpose of winding-up the affairs of the New Zealand Company with the late agent of the Company, who acted in entire accordance with the government; but the welfare and peace of a country ought not to be left dependent upon the fortuitous occurrence of a state of things which cannot be expected to continue uninterruptedly. Moreover, such an arrangement would, under the most favourable circumstances, create great discontent, not only in these settlements, but in the neighbouring colonies, as I think it might be regarded as a very dangerous precedent to hand over the land-fund of a colony to entirely irresponsible persons.

"Upon the whole, I think that nothing could be more conducive to the future welfare of this colony than to allow the Crown lands to be sold here as in the other Australian settlements, by public competition; to cause the proceeds of the sales of those lands to be paid, in the usual manner, into the public treasury; and then to allow fifty per cent. of these proceeds, after deducting the cost of the purchase and administration of the waste lands of the Crown, to be devoted to the purposes of emigration: twenty-five per cent. to be expended for the benefit of the natives, and twenty-five per cent. to be expended upon public works in those provinces where the amount of the native population might render such an appropriation of the land revenue necessary; it being further provided that the last amount of twenty-five per cent. should be expended in aid of the object to which it was to be devoted, in such a manner as the legislature of each province might direct. I have been particular in stating that it should be required that twenty-five per cent. of the land-fund should be spent upon public works, because this colony differs from the Australian settlements in having in it a large number of native labourers, who are at once controlled and improved by having employment afforded to them upon the public works. If your lordship would sanction such arrangements as I have above proposed, I am sure they would work well for a long series of years; and whilst they would eminently promote the interests of the

* This statement is made in the twenty-seventh (printed but not published) Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, p. 3.

† Colonel Wakefield died suddenly at Wellington, September, 1848.

‡ Earl Grey, Despatch 19th June, 1847.—*Vide* Parliamentary Papers of June, 1847, p. 115.

§ Letter of Mr. Fox to Lieutenant-governor Eyre, February 20th, 1849.—*Vide* Parliamentary Papers of 1850, p. 72.

colony, they would, I think, be in all respects satisfactory to the European and native populations.

"I should mention to your lordship, regarding this tract of territory which the New Zealand Company, through their agent, contend should have been taken from the natives without their consent, that its area comprehends several millions of acres; and that the sum to be paid for the purchase of any rights which the natives might have over any portion of this territory, except the small reserves kept for their use, was only £2,000: an amount which the late Colonel Wakefield concurred with me in thinking was a fair and just amount to give the natives.

"To act upon the principle that, where the natives are so weak that they cannot defend their lands, the government should assert what the New Zealand Company now represent as the rights of the crown, and forcibly take the natives' lands from them; and again, to refrain from asserting the so-termed rights of the crown, when the natives are so strong that they could protect themselves, would certainly acquire for the government the contempt as well as the distrust of the whole native population; and that especially when, as in the present case, the natives made no factious opposition to the occupation of their lands, but cheerfully yielded all their rights for that sum which, without consulting their wishes, the government had fixed as a just amount."

In this same despatch there are other passages, illustrative of the mischief which could not but result from depriving the local government of the colony of powers essential to its efficient administration, and clearly showing how just the reasoning of Governor Fitz-Roy had been on the subject. Had the results of his painful experience, published by him in 1846,* exercised their due influence, nearly a quarter of a million would have been saved to the British treasury; the energies of an important colony would not have been crippled by a heavy mortgage laid on its lands, the first and most available resource of a young country, and the New Zealand Company might at once have taken its place in history by the side of the South Sea Company.† He had truly declared that while there was an irresponsible commercial body whose object was selfish and local, operating either as a middle-man between the government and the colony, or as an officious helper of the government, for the sake of its own advantage, there could be no peace or confidence. Captain Fitz-Roy's opinions with regard to the pecuniary prospects of the Company have proved equally correct. Although at that time a very opposite view of the question was generally entertained, he asserted that their colonising operations in New Zealand, however assisted by the government, must be attended with disadvantages and pecuniary loss, and that the sooner they ceased to act the better it would be for themselves, the settlers, and the natives. Happily for the colony, Governor Grey agreed with his predecessor in considering that to take land from the natives, or without the full consent of all its numerous owners, would involve in hostilities, not only the takers, and those who attempted to settle there, but also the local government; and the home authorities supported him in obliging the Company to make purchase, and not confiscation, the means of acquiring territory, and in requiring them to furnish the requisite funds. To this cause the Company choose to attribute the chief blame of the disastrous failure in which their three years' probation terminated on the 5th of April, 1850. After an unavailing attempt to obtain from Earl Grey additional pecuniary assistance, in the form of a guarantee of interest upon this capital, and also a remission of the claim of her Majesty's government upon them, for the advances already made, the Company surrendered their charter, and declared themselves unable to continue their operations, having exhausted the £236,000 advanced to them, under the loan acts of 1846–'7, as well as the sums they had received for land in the Otago and in the projected Canterbury Settlement. Anything approaching to a clear and full statement of the manner in which all this money has been expended, will probably never be given to the public, unless through the instrumentality of some energetic members of the legislature, whose love of truth, and genuine interest in the welfare of a distant colony shall lead them to hazard incurring no small amount of trouble and annoyance, by bringing about a parliamentary inquiry, into the proceedings of the New Zealand Company.

The parliamentary commissioner (Mr. Cowell) appointed under the agreement of 1847, ceased to act some time before the final crisis arrived, and his reports to the Colonial Office have not been published. The only account of the Company's financial affairs, from 1847 to 1850, which I have been able to obtain, is contained in the (unpublished) twenty-seventh report of the directors to the proprietors. It is very brief, and given under such general heads,

* In a pamphlet from which we have previously quoted, entitled *Remarks on New Zealand*, by Robert Fitz-Roy. W. and H. White Pall Mall, London.

† Of 1725. "Among many points of resemblance, each Company employed lotteries and great exaggerations."—*Remarks on New Zealand*, p. 59.

that it shews little more than that the receipts have been enormous, and the expenditure commensurate; but the results—what are they? It states that the Company had a balance in hand, on the 6th of April, 1847, of £37,449 : 7*s.* : 1*d.*, of which £9,093 : 14*s.* : 10*d.* consisted of promissory notes not immediately available. From this date to the 5th of April, their receipts were—

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| From sale of land . . . . . . . . | £25,457 | 10 | 0 |
| From sundry persons, freight, and passage-money, per ships despatched to New Zealand . . . . . | 28,498 | 8 | 5 |
| From interest on investment, bills receivable, and debts due to the Company . . . . . . . . | 3,222 | 11 | 11 |
| From her Majesty's government, balance of loan of £100,000 authorized by parliament in 1846 . | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
| From her Majesty's government, amount of loan authorized by parliament in 1847 . . . . . . | 136,000 | 0 | 0 |
| *Available* balance in hand . . . . | 28,355 | 12 | 3 |
| Total. . . | £241,534 | 2 | 7 |

Their expenditure during the same period, is stated at £203,391, irrespective of £25,000 "invested in the three per cent. consols, in respect of the Nelson trust funds, according to the trusts of an indenture of the 8th of June, 1848, of advances to the Canterbury Association to the amount of £8,621, and a cash balance of £4,522."

Of the £203,391, we find that £68,215 were paid away for accounts outstanding on the 5th of April, 1847; viz., £54,000 for debentures; £3,153 interest on ditto, and £11,062, for bills under acceptance, arrears of salaries, and allowances for services, &c.

*Establishments and expenses in England* for the three years, are put down at the preposterous amount of £22,032 : 4*s.* : 7*d.*; viz., salaries and allowances for services, £12,559; office expenses and contingencies, £5,550 : 12*s.* : 11*d.*; law and parliamentary expenses, £3,921 : 17*s.* : 8*d.*

To whom, and for what services rendered in England, salaries and allowances to the amount of more than £4,000 per annum were paid, it is not easy to conjecture.

*Establishments and expenses in New Zealand* are stated at £12,700 : 19*s.* : 1*d.*; viz., salaries and allowances for services, £8,765 : 2*s.* : 0*d.*; office expenses and contingencies, £3,646 : 2*s.* : 3*d.*, and law expenses, £289 : 14*s.* : 10*d.*

The other important items are, *emigration service*, £47,338; *surveys*, £14,433; *public works in the colony, roads, bridges, &c.*, £1,175; *colonial incidental expenses, principally for the Otago settlement*, £6,808; *stores shipped to the colony, principally for Otago, and oil butts and live stock, per sundry ships despatched*, £4,200; *land purchased from private individuals*, £8,106; *land purchased from the Nanto-Bordelaise Company* (proprietors at Akaroa), £5,769; *land purchased from the natives*, £7,983.

The general public, as well as the proprietors and land-purchasers of the Company, have, without doubt, the right to demand from the directors more detailed information on the various items above stated, and especially respecting the tangible results which have been produced, by such an enormous expenditure.

For instance, 2,485 emigrants are stated to have been conveyed to New Zealand by the Company, and the *emigration service* is put down at £47,338, but it is impossible to form any idea of the number to whom free passages were granted, or the expense of their conveyance per head, without first ascertaining how many paid their passage, entirely or in part. Again, respecting the surveys, it should be stated where they were executed, how many acres had been surveyed, and whether of grass or unwooded land. What are *colonial incidents*, absorbing six times the sum spent on *roads and public works*? Had the New Zealand Company its "secret service?" The (comparatively) paltry expenditure on public works of £1,175, contrasts yet more strikingly with the £34,733 lavished on *establishments, contingencies, and law expenses* in England and New Zealand. Who are the *private individuals* to whom more money has been paid than to the natives for the whole of the Middle Island, minus their reserves—How many acres had each private individual, where situated, and how acquired?

The affairs of the New Zealand Company demand immediate and most careful consideration. They are not by-gone matters, relating only to the past history of the colony; unhappily they bear upon its present position, and threaten seriously to impede its future progress.

As the case now stands, the Company, by relinquishing their charter, would appear not only to have released themselves from their public debt of nearly a quarter of a million, and of their liabilities to the Nelson settlers and others, at the expense of the government, but are to have a mortgage to

the amount of another quarter of a million (£268,000), on all the crown lands of New Zealand; together with interest at the rate of three-and-a-half per cent., (see agreement, pp. 243, 244.)

This arrangement, if not altered while there is yet time, can scarcely fail to be peculiarly grievous to the Auckland and other colonists who have never had any connection with the Company. In the southern settlements the hardship is less, though even there it cannot but be painfully felt. The latest local papers express an anxious desire to receive official notification of the fact of the Company's dissolution, notwithstanding the heavy *post obits* they leave to be discharged. They state that not one public work, not one substantial improvement worthy of a Company to whom so much had been entrusted, will remain to remind future colonists of its career. "They will only bequeath a legacy of promises unfulfilled, of pledges broken, of trusts betrayed."*

It is deeply mortifying to consider how different the results might have been, had the government itself conducted the colonization of New Zealand. Putting aside the question of why £236,000 of the public money, should have been exclusively devoted to directing the stream of emigration to this particular colony, and supposing her Majesty's ministers to have determined on so doing, not only might ten times the number of persons have been placed there at the same cost, but each one might have been enabled, in his turn, to benefit the mother country, by becoming a consumer of her manufactures to fourfold the extent the majority of those impoverished by the pernicious system of the New Zealand Company, are ever likely to do.

For example—had a grant of one hundred acres of land been offered, on condition of occupation, to any man desirous to proceed thither accompanied by wife or sister, 23,600 couples of enterprising and productive colonists might have been settled there, for the aforesaid £236,000; as grass land on the east coast of the Middle Island might have been fairly purchased from its native proprietors, surveyed, and delivered by the government to each individual, at a cost of 2*s*. per acre, or £10 the section.†

Or,—had the government offered a section of fifty acres of land as a grant, and half the expense of the passage of each couple of emigrants as a loan, with a promissory title to their section at the outset, and a complete one when the loan should be repaid; then, allowing £5 for the section, and £20 for the half passage, 9,440 couples of colonists might have been established under the most favourable circumstances.

Or, supposing a third system,—had the government offered a free passage to a couple, as an advance or loan, of £32 in amount, (£16 each,) and a section of land of fifty acres, as a grant, to be the freehold property of the emigrant so soon as the passage cost of £32, with interest at three-and-a-half per cent., should be repaid; then, at an expenditure of £37 per couple, 6,378 couples of adults might have been placed there, and either by repayment of the money advanced, on the acquisition of the freehold, or of a rental equivalent to the interest, the original sum of £236,000 would be perpetuated, and afford a renewed fund for the same object.

The numbers and condition of both races, and the remarkable progress made by the Maories in the peaceful pursuits of civilization, remain to be noticed in the population section; one important fact calculated materially to affect their joint welfare must, however, be stated here:—in August, 1848, Earl Grey directed the governor of New Zealand to ascertain whether the colonists would be disposed to receive "exiles with tickets-of-leave." Public opinion was decidedly, but temperately, expressed in different parts of New Zealand, by both the Europeans and natives. Sir G. Grey, the governor, in a despatch dated the 8th of May, 1849, forcibly stated the evils which would ensue, not only as regarded the aborigines, but also in the demoralization of the exiles, who would probably retire into the interior, live among the native population, and cohabit with their women; whereupon Earl Grey declared (in a despatch, 26th November, 1849,) that her Majesty would not be advised to send any convicts to New Zealand.

*Disposal of Land.*—Since the cessation of the New Zealand Company, the method of disposing of the lands of the colony may be considered in a state of transition. It has been seen that the Company, in 1847, had

* *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, for October, 1850. See also *Southern Cross.*

† This estimate is given on the authority of Mr. Tuckett, whose experience in the cost of purchasing and surveying land in New Zealand enables him to form a correct judgment on these points.

superseded the government in the southern province, having been granted extraordinary privileges with regard to the disposal of land, which they surrendered in 1850; consequently the statutory rules abrogated for a time on their behalf then again came into operation. The Otago and the Canterbury Settlements have, however, their own special regulations, and the government market for land is liable to be disturbed by the quantity thrown into the market by the holders of land orders who have never gone out to take their allotments, or have been forced or induced to part with them.

Regulations for depasture and timber licences were issued in August, 1848; but they were withdrawn, and others substituted for them by proclamation of the governor-in-chief, on the 2nd of November. By the regulations as so amended, the licence for a defined run costs £5; that for depasture on common lands, 10*s.* 6*d.* The yearly assessment for the animals depastured, payable in advance, according to registered returns, is for each head of great cattle, including horned cattle, horses, mules, &c., 8*d.*; for each head of small cattle, including sheep, goats, and swine, 1*d.* The method of proceeding is as follows:—a person desiring to occupy a defined run, having obtained from the surveyor-general a certificate that the land belongs to the crown, and is unoccupied, lodges it with the commissioner of crown lands. If the run remains four months unused, it may be claimed by another party. The occupation is not to interfere with the crown's right to sell any part of the run; and the purchaser of any portion is entitled, in the neighbourhood of his station, to pasturage for sixteen head of great and one hundred head of small cattle, for each eighty acres of purchase. Runs supposed to possess any peculiar value are to be let by public auction.

There are special rules applicable to those tracts of land, which are within the limits of proclaimed hundreds. There the right of pasturage is to be granted exclusively to occupants under grants of land within the hundred, and to the New Zealand fencibles, and the natives and half-castes occupying lands by permission of the government.

*Timber.*—Persons occupying waste lands for the felling of timber, pay a licence of £5. The district covered by a licence is marked out by the commissioner of crown lands. No fresh application for a licence is to be allowed injuriously to interfere with a forest on which any other person has expended capital and labour, and no one is to be allowed to cut or remove timber on the crown lands reserved by government for the public use.*

To the history of this colony, the following chronological summary of its leading events may perhaps be appended with advantage:—

| | |
|---|---|
| New Zealand discovered by Tasman | 1643 |
| Re-discovered, and circumnavigated by Cook | 1769 |
| Commencement of intercourse with N. S. Wales | 1791 |
| Church Mission established by Mr. Marsden at the Bay of Islands | 1814 |
| Wesleyan Mission established at Wangaroa | 1822 |
| Appointment of a British Resident (Mr. Busby) | 1832 |
| National flag adopted by the New Zealanders, and recognised by Great Britain | 1834 |
| Declaration of Independence | 1835 |
| Roman Catholic Mission established at the Bay of Islands | 1838 |
| Settlement of Wellington established | 1839 |
| Appointment of Capt. Hobson as British Consul and Lieut.-Governor | 1839 |
| Treaty of Waitangi | 1840 |
| New Zealand created a British colony, and Capt. Hobson appointed Governor | 1840 |
| French settlement established on Bank's Peninsula | 1840 |
| Seat of Government fixed at Auckland | 1840 |
| New Zealand Company incorporated by Royal Charter | 1840 |
| Settlement of New Plymouth established | 1841 |
| Settlement of Nelson established | 1841 |
| Dr. Selwyn first Bishop of New Zealand arrived | 1842 |
| Death of Governor Hobson | 1842 |
| Captain Fitz-Roy appointed Governor | 1843 |
| Wairau catastrophe | 1843 |
| Bankruptcy of the New Zealand Company | 1844 |
| Destruction of Kororarika, or Russell | 1845 |
| Hostilities at Ohaio-Wai | 1845 |
| Recal of Governor Fitz-Roy | 1845 |
| Appointment of Governor Grey | 1845 |
| Taking of Kawiti's Pah at Rua-peka-peka | 1846 |
| Hostilities in the Valley of the Hutt | 1846 |
| Parliamentary Loan of £100,000 to the New Zealand Company | 1846 |
| Charter and Royal Instructions for the better government of New Zealand | 1846 |
| Mr. Eyre appointed Lieut.-Governor of New Munster, the Southern Island | 1846 |
| Act passed to suspend the Charter for five years | 1847 |
| Act conferring extensive powers on the New Zealand Company, and authorising a loan of £136,000 | 1847 |
| Hostilities at Wanganui | 1847 |
| Settlement of Otago established | 1847 |
| Canterbury Association formed | 1848 |
| Earthquake at Wellington | 1848 |
| Local Legislature established at New Munster | 1848 |
| Canterbury Association incorporated by Royal Charter | 1849 |
| New Zealand Company surrender their charter to government | 1850 |
| Settlement of New Canterbury established | 1850 |

* For further particulars respecting disposal of land in New Zealand, vide latest *Reports of Emigration Commissioners*, and likewise an excellent little work, entitled the *Emigrants' Manual*, published by the Messrs. Chambers.

# CHAPTER II.

POSITION — AREA AND PHYSICAL FEATURES — THE NORTHERN, MIDDLE, AND SOUTHERN ISLANDS—THEIR COAST-LINE, HARBOURS, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, AND LAKES—GOVERNMENTAL DIVISIONS—SETTLEMENTS—CHIEF TOWNS, AND GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY

THE islands included under the general name of New Zealand, are situated in the South Pacific Ocean, about 1,200 miles to the eastward of Australia. They lie between the parallels of 34° and 48° south latitude, and the 166th and 179th meridians of east longitude, forming a narrow serrated chain of about 1,200 miles in length. There are two principal islands, viz.:—*New Ulster, North Island*, or *Eaheinomauwe*, and *New Munster, Middle Island*, or *Tavai Poenammoo;* from the southern extremity of the latter, a third much smaller island, called *New Leinster, Stewart's*, or *South Island*,* is divided by a channel called Foveaux Strait. New Ulster and New Munster are separated by Cook Strait; at the narrowest part of this passage the direction of the opposite headlands and the identity of structure, show that they were once contiguous, and the submerged reefs yet mark far into the strait the previous line of connection.

The total superficies of New Zealand is estimated at about 95,000 square miles, giving an area nearly equal to that of the British Islands, bounded by a coast line of above 3,000 miles in extent. The country is excessively mountainous: a lofty chain traverses the Middle and a considerable part of the Northern Island, beside which, there are many subordinate ranges. Numerous and copious streams descend from the mountains to the sea-shore, but are, unfortunately, not navigable for ships, as above the tide they are, with few exceptions, mere mountain torrents barred at the entrance by vast deposits of shingle, through which the waters filtrate to the ocean.

In the Northern Island, the principal rivers, for the most part, flow north and south, and have an extensive course, in proportion to the limits of an insular area, some reaching to a length of 100, and even 200 miles. In the Middle Island the chief streams have a course inland in a direction always nearly at a right angle to the line of coast, and have consequently a less extent. Thus the rivers which discharge on the north coast flow from the south, on the east coast from the west, on the south coast from the north, and the west coast from the east.

The *aspect* of New Zealand is very varied; in some localities and from certain points of view, snow crowned mountains and stately forests give it grandeur and majesty. More generally its scenery is simply picturesque, consisting principally of fern-clad ranges, with intermediate valleys of varying but usually limited extent, whose available area is frequently encroached upon by extensive swamps overgrown with flax, reeds, and rushes; in exceptional instances, vast treeless but grassy plains, impart to it an air of sameness and monotony which is greatly augmented by the absence of animal life, which distinguishes certain parts of these islands.† Terry, describing the leading characteristics of the country, says:—

"The exaggerated statements circulated in England of the colony and its productions, soil, and climate, have led generally to the very erroneous impression and opinion, that the necessaries, and even more, as regards food, would be abundant and cheap. But New Zealand has neither a tropical climate, nor is it a country in which edible vegetables and fruits, indigenous to such regions, grow and flourish spontaneously and abundantly: nor is it a land inhabited by native animals adapted for the food of man, and easily obtained by the toils or chase. The islands of New Zealand are uncultivated wastes,—either of

* The names assigned to these islands are very unpopular, but they have this advantage for the reader, that they are calculated to keep in mind the relative position of the islands, Ulster standing for Upper, Munster for Middle, and Leinster for Lower.

† D'Urville, in his *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*, has vividly portrayed the impression made upon his mind, on visiting some portions of the coasts of New Zealand, by the extreme stillness and solitude. "Du reste à ces faibles hauteurs le règne animal semblait lui-même frappé d'impuissance. Plus d'oiseaux, point d'insectes pas meme de reptiles de la plus petite espece. Aussi, en resultait il un silenco lugubre et absolu, une immobilité profonde qui font eprouver un voyageur les sensations les plus singulières. On dirait une nature morte et pétrifriée, une terre où nul être ne peut vivre, si ce n'est quelques plantes rabougries." This description is however only partially applicable to the shores of New Zealand, of which Cook frequently gives very pleasing accounts.

mountains covered with dense forests,—of plains and lowlands covered with high-fern and shrubs,—or of swamps and marshes covered with rush and flax, without any open spots of grass land for pasturage, or of verdant downs and hills for sheep. In these vast tracts there is not to be seen a living animal, wild or domestic. The traveller's path in the woods is never crossed by the bounding deer for his rifle to replenish his supplies, nor is his nightly bivouac ever disturbed by the howl or the dread of visits from more savage and ferocious animals. All is perfect silence, and solitude in the extreme. The woods are comparatively destitute of the feathered race. The pigeon, the parrot, and the *tui* in certain localities, are the only species that abound. Whatever is produced from the soil in New Zealand for the food of its population, either of grain from arable land, or of stock from pasturage, must be the work of time, by great labour and at much expense. The very nature and circumstances of the country must render the progress of agriculture in New Zealand slow and gradual."*

This account was written in 1842, when the extensive, though not numerous, grassy plains of New Munster were unknown; since that time several more limited tracts of natural pasturage have been discovered in New Ulster.

Forest, thick woods, impervious jungle, flax and fern, stunted or luxuriant, according to the soil, cover the chief part of the whole surface, which is intersected by innumerable water-courses, and adorned by cascades and waterfalls. Extensive lakes, the evident results of volcanic agency, are situated in the interior of both islands, and from them the principal rivers derive their source.

The general outline of the islands of New Zealand (especially the Northern,) is so striking, that the most casual observer can scarcely glance at their representation on a map, without being impressed by their strange, irregular, unaccountable shape. The coast scenery is varied, sometimes very pleasing, at others quite the reverse, the eastern being generally far more inviting to the navigator than the western shores.

New Ulster, or North Island, is about 400 miles in length, with a breadth varying from 5 to 300 miles. Its area is estimated at 31,174,400 acres; a very large proportion of the whole is occupied by precipitous hills and water-courses, which latter, though valuable as affording an inexhaustible supply of water-power for machinery, serve to increase rather than diminish the great disadvantage of New Zealand, namely, the difficulty of communication by means of roads. An intelligent writer,† describing the excessively mountainous character of the island, pictures the immigrant agriculturalist landing on a circumscribed flat, gazing for the first time on his future home, cogitating whether he can himself ascend the hills, and anxiously inquiring how horses and ploughs are to work in such a country. There are very few plains, properly so called, in New Ulster, though the broad top of a mountain or a confined vale is frequently so designated; for this reason the landscape is of slight extent, mostly a miniature of Wales, eminences too frequently obstructing the view. Sometimes these vales are like the bottom of a caldron, of which the surrounding hills form the sides.

The remarkable configuration of the island gives it an extent of coast-line quite disproportioned to its area. Peninsulas of various shapes and sizes stretch out into the ocean from every point of the compass, the largest of which (nearly 200 miles in length) is united to the main land by a low sandy isthmus about three miles broad. This peninsula, the extremity of which is called by the natives *Te Muri-wenua,* or *Land's End,* terminates in *Cape Otou,* or *North Cape,* a rocky promontory which forms the northern limit of New Zealand.

*Coast-line and adjacent country, harbours and rivers.* — *North Cape* is situated in 34° 25′ S. lat., and 173° 10′ E. long., off it lies a small rocky island, named *Moudi Moutou,* separated from the mainland at high-water only. The promontory itself is high and bold, presenting very steep sides to both the northern and the eastern coast; but a flat and swampy land of about three square miles in extent, runs from the northern to the eastern coast, and separates this promontory from the hills at *Kapowairua.* The eastern coast from the North Cape to *Parenga renga* estuary, situate in the curve of the coast, called *Sandy Bay,* is formed chiefly by perpendicular cliffs of grey sandstone. The arms of Parenga-renga inlet extend between the ramifications of the neighbouring hills, and generally terminate in swamps grown over with what is called the New Zealand mangrove (*avicennia tomentosa*). Proceeding in a southerly direction, the east coast is lined by a long sandy beach, here and there interrupted by bluffs of basaltic rock, which are verdant with groups of the hardy pohutukaua tree

* *New Zealand,* by Charles Terry, F.R.S., F.S.A., p. 58.

† John Bright, Esq. *Vide New Zealand, its State and Prospects,* pp. 5, 6.

(*Metrosideros tomentosa*) to about eight miles to the southward of *Houhoura,* or *Mount Camel.* The land consists either of low hills or swamps, the low brown vegetation of the former being almost wholly fern or manuka.

Mount Camel (so named from its form) is not connected with any chain of mountains, but forms an isolated hill rising to the height of about 500 feet above the sea. It protects a deep inlet, which at the head branches off into several shallow channels, and forms a perfectly sheltered harbour for vessels of the largest burden, with anchorage close to the eastern shore; the entrance to this harbour is not more than forty or fifty yards broad. Some miles to the southward, the land suddenly assumes a very different aspect; the raupo swamps and the low barren elevations of the soil between them give way to an extensive alluvial district, which stretches from the eastern to the western coast, and follows the serpentine course of the *Awaroa,* or *Awanui,* a river which empties itself into the estuary of *Rangaunu,* a shallow but extensive arm of the sea, with an intricate, yet open channel for moderate sized vessels. The river is very narrow at its sea-mouth, but the tide drives its fresh-water back eight feet above its usual level, and it is then of considerable depth; it has little fall, and the tide renders it always navigable. The banks are perpendicular, and rise two or three feet above the level of the spring-tides; towards its outlet, however, the land is low and swampy, and is overflowed when winds from the sea raise the water to a higher level, or when floods, occasioned by long-continued rain, come down from the interior. The Awaroa has its source near that of *Mango-muka,* a branch of the *Hokianga* river, from which it is separated by the *Maunga Taniwa,* a remarkable pyramidal peak, which towers above the neighbouring hills, being nearly 1,500 feet high. Throughout its course the valley of the Awaroa is very fertile. Several miles below *Kaitaia,* a mission-station and native settlement, situated on a hilly eminence about eight miles from the western coast, the river is joined by another, coming from the eastern hills in the neighbourhood of *Monganui,* in *Lauriston Bay,* which at the point of union is scarcely inferior to itself in size. Above Kaitaia the Awaroa is only passable by canoes, in which the natives carry down food from their plantations to the village. The flat alluvial land extending on the right shore of the Awaroa to Rangaunu Bay, is separated from Lauriston Bay by *Kari Kari,* or *Knuckle Point,* a peninsula connected with the range of hills which occupies the interior of the island, and sends forth branches both eastward and westward, forming valleys, or rather ravines, through which various mountain torrents find their way to the ocean. The most important place in *Lauriston, Doubtless,* or *Oudu Oudu Bay,* is *Oudu Oudu,* or *Oruru,* where a stream, which takes its rise on the eastern slope of Maunga Taniwa, and can be entered by a boat, empties itself into the sea. On both sides of this river is excellent level and clear land, rising slowly towards Maunga Taniwa. Oruru is separated by low hills covered with a stiff white clay and a scanty vegetation, from a similar valley eight miles to the northward, out of which another river runs into the sea. The road from Oruru into the harbour of Monganui, leads over a succession of steep hills and narrow fertile ravines; the distance is about ten miles. A reef of rocks which runs off Oruru in a north-easterly direction, is the only obstacle to a safe and easy entrance into the harbour. The channel is not above 100 yards wide, but it is very deep. A small number of vessels may anchor about a quarter of a mile off the southern head, in five fathoms water, and be perfectly sheltered. The rest of the estuary is a large basin spreading out into mud-flats at low-water, with a channel sufficiently deep for large boats, near the northern shore, up to its head, which is here entered by a river that takes its rise in the hills separating the harbour of Wangaroa from Monganui. An arm of the latter stretches towards Oruru, and unites with this river behind an island of moderate size, which forms the head of the harbour, and conceals the mangrove flats, which lie on both sides of the channel.

The river *Pu-te-kaka* is entered by the tide for about eight miles, and thus far a boat can go up it. It flows through an undulating open country, the elevations alternating with large swamps which might be easily drained, and would then form good agricultural land. Higher up, the view is shut in by the hills towards Wangaroa, which are about fifteen miles distant, and are covered with kauri forest, as are also the hills to the west and north.

The land up to the base of those hills is devoid of trees. Towards Point Surville the coast is hilly, with occasional narrow valleys; from thence to Wangaroa it is cliffy and steep.* Along it, at the distance of one or two miles, there occur numerous rocks and islets, which usually assume a pinnacled or sugar-loaf form; but some present a castellated outline, like that observable in the rocks of Bass Strait, Australia.†

*Wangaroa Harbour*, the scene of the Boyd massacre (*vide* p. 119), is a singularly romantic place. The entrance, which is only about 150 yards broad, is between towering, perpendicular rocks, which appear to have been rent asunder by some mighty convulsion of nature. Trees of various kinds overhang these black walls, and form a picturesque contrast with them. Deep fissures penetrate the coast, and on the western side of the bay, high cubical masses are piled one above another, to the height of several hundred feet, from whence many cascades descend, and lose themselves amid the luxuriant groves which clothe the base of these heights. On the opposite side of the harbour is a pyramidical, wooded hill, 300 feet high, excessively steep, and in some places perpendicular, on the summit of which a native fort once stood.‡ Near the northern head is a large perforated rock, presenting the appearance of a deep Gothic archway, through which canoes find a safe passage in calm weather. The water in the entrance is of great depth close to the rocks, and there is no hidden danger of any description. The harbour itself, into which three small streams discharge, is very spacious and deep, affording anchorage for the largest fleet, and shelter from all winds: it ranks with the best in New Zealand; and in beauty of scenery is nowhere surpassed. There is, however, but little available land in its immediate neighbourhood: to the northward the sea forms some inlets with flats, which are overgrown with trees; and Kauri timber is found on the neighbouring hills, but at some distance from the coast,—all that grew near the sea having been cut down and destroyed.

A chain of small islands, called the *Motu Kawa*, or *Cavalles Islands*, stretch from Wangaroa towards the *Bay of Islands*, a distance of about twenty-five miles. The most northerly, which is about three miles from Wangaroa harbour, is resorted to by the natives for fishing; but is otherwise a hilly and exposed spot, of no importance. Anchorage is found near these isles; and, in calm weather, many of the fragile nautilus fish may be seen between them and the main.

The *Bay of Islands*, formerly the favourite rendezvous of the South Sea whalers, obtained its name from the number of rocky islands with which it is studded. Two necks of land, running in a parallel direction, and narrowing towards their extremities, form the entrance to an expanse of water, really about ten miles square, though, to the eye, it appears much smaller, from the many islands that intercept the view. The northern head of the bay, *Cape Wiwiki*, or *Point Pococke*, is a steep, cliffy headland, of a dark colour, rather picturesque in its appearance: near it is a conical, rocky islet, called the *Sentinel*, from its position. The southern headland, distant about ten miles from the northern, is *Cape Brett*, a bold promontory, higher than any neighbouring land. Detached from, but near the Cape, is a rock, named by Cook, *Piercy Islet*, which exhibits another of the remarkable perforations frequent on the eastern coast of New Zealand.

Few places are easier of access than this spacious bay: excepting the *Whale Rock*, whose position is well ascertained, there are no hidden dangers; and, once entered, it affords secure and sheltered anchorage for an almost unlimited number of vessels, in all weathers, and at all seasons of the year. It comprises several distinct harbours, formed by the inlets which branch off from various parts of its circumference. Near the first, or most northerly of these, is *Tipuna* or *Rangehua*, the spot where the first missionaries were established, through the exertions of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, in 1814.

Near the middle of the west side of the bay is the opening of *Kororarika Harbour*, a secure but shallow port, better adapted to merchant shipping than to the use of men-of-war.§ Opposite to the village of Kororarika stands the mission station of *Paihia*,

* *Travels in New Zealand*, by Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D.; see vol. i., p. 205 to 234.

† *New Zealand*, by R. G. Jameson, p. 181.

‡ Dr. Selwyn remarks that "strangely enough two high and remarkable rocks, laid down in the charts as St. Peter and St. Paul, on opposite sides of the harbour have been bought, the former by the Romanists, the latter by Mr. Shepherd, the Church Missionary Society's catechist."—*Church in the Colonies*, No. vii., p. 12.

§ *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N.; vol. ii., p. 565.

a lovely little hamlet, situate at the foot of high fern hills. The arm of the sea, or estuary, which forms Kororarika harbour, affords, at its termination inland, excellent anchorage for vessels not requiring a depth of more than seventeen feet.* It then diminishes, and its salt stream gives place to the fresh waters of the *Kawa-kawa*, which can be ascended by boats for about four miles; the river then narrows, and takes its course through low and swampy ground, becomes shallow, and very much choked up with the roots and stumps of trees. Though on a small scale, the banks of this river are interesting. On each side the soil is extremely good on the low grounds, and the hills well wooded; they are not high, but approach the river rather closely in some places, so that the winding stream, spaces of level and cultivated land, and woody heights are agreeably mingled.

The same estuary that forms the channel of the Kawa Kawa, branches out in a somewhat parallel direction, receiving the *Waikadi*, a stream about ten miles in length.

The *Waitangi*, or *Weeping River* (*Wai*, signifying water, and *tangi*, weeping), rises in *Lake Maupere*, and enters the Bay of Islands near Paihia; it has a narrow channel, but a rapid course of about thirty miles, and forms fine horse-shoe falls at its mouth. Being augmented during its progress by the drainage of the hill range on either side, it attains, before it reaches the cascade, a breadth of thirty yards. The *Waimate* flows into it from the north-east. Between the Waitangi and Tipuna another arm of the sea stretches far into the land, and receives a small stream called the *Keri-keri*. This river, although only about twenty yards broad, has a very picturesque fall over a basaltic escarpment, ninety-five feet in height. The spray of the waters gives rise to a vigorous and varied vegetation all around.† The country surrounding the Bay of Islands, consisting almost entirely of hills, which, although not of any great height, are too steep to permit horses and cattle to work, alternating with ravines, which extend far inland. Towards the coast these hills form diminutive bays, generally inaccessible from the land. The different anchorages being separated, or rather formed by distinct arms of the sea, impedes their being connected by the construction of roads with each other, and with the interior, beside which, there is scarcely sufficient room in any of the bays even for a moderate-sized town, unless placed upon the side of a steep hill. The only exception to the mountainous character is the table land, extending between the Waitangi and the Keri-keri.

Proceeding to trace the coast-line in a southerly direction from Cape Brett, and passing the harbour of *Wangamumu*, and that of *Wangaruru*, and a group of islets called the *Poor Knights*, we arrive at *Tutukaka*, a small but secure harbour, hemmed in by wooded hills, where the *Nongodo river* has its outlet.

From thence the coast is straight, rocky, and bold, interrupted by a few sandy beaches, as far as *Bream Head*, or *Cape Tewara*, a remarkable promontory, on whose summit several pointed rocks stand in a range, and being surrounded by shrubs and small trees, resemble the picturesque ruins of an ancient castle; it may also be known by some small islands which lie before it, called by Cook the *Hen and Chickens*, one of which is high, and terminates in two peaks. Bream Head forms the northern point of *Wangari Bay*, a fine inlet, which contains an extensive and sheltered harbour, and receives the waters of a somewhat considerable stream, of the same name. Much *kauri* forest is found in this neighbourhood. From thence to *Hauraki Gulf*, or the *Frith of Thames*, the coast presents a series of wooded hills and dark projecting rocks, with white sand-banks between the sea and the firm land.

*Cape Rodney*, in 36° 15′ S. lat., 174° 53′ E. long., runs out in a long narrow neck of land, forming the north-west extremity of the gulf;‡ the north-east, named *Cape Colville*, in 36° 26′ S. lat., and 175° 27′ E. long. rises directly from the sea to a considerable

* On the western side of this harbour is the place memorable for the massacre of the ill-fated Marion and his crew. Captain Fitz-Roy, alluding to this melancholy catastrophe, says, that "it is now said to have been caused by mutual ignorance of language. The Frenchmen not understanding that the spot was tabooed [or sacred], persisted in fishing there, and endeavoured to maintain their intrusion by force."—*Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, vol. ii., p. 582.

† "A waterfall is called *Waianiwaniwa* in the Maori language, meaning *rainbow-waters*."—*Travels in New Zealand*, by Earnest Dieffenbach, M.D., vol. i., p. 250.

‡ The name of the Gulf of Hauraki was originally applied only to the eastern part of the large estuary or gulf, entered between Cape Rodney and Cape Colville, which receives the river Thames, or Waiko, and the river Piako, but that appellation is now generally applied to the whole expanse.

height, and is remarkable for a lofty rock which stands on the pitch of the point, and may be distinguished at a very great distance. These two headlands are about forty miles apart. The broad mouth is defended from the sea swell by a chain of islands of different extent, which lie across it, called by Cook the Barrier Islands. *Otea,* the largest, is about twenty miles in length, and consists of high mountains, broken into rugged and fantastic peaks; a considerable portion of the hills are covered with *kauri* forest and brushwood, but on the western shores there is open land. An excellent harbour is situated on its north-western extremity. At *Aiguilles Point* the rocks jut up from the water like colossal needles; a few miles off lie several small islands. The most westerly of the Barren Islands, and the next in size to Otea, is called *Shoutourou.* Entering Hauraki Gulf, at Cape Rodney, and proceeding southward, we pass *Point Wakatu-wenua,* a tongue of land, which forms the northern shore of a small sandy bay, called *Matakana;* four miles off is *Kawau,* a steep rocky island, twenty-five miles in circumference, which possesses copper and some silver ore; but like most of the surrounding islands, though extremely picturesque, is totally unfit for agricultural or grazing purposes, the entire area being occupied by steep hills and gullies, frequently clothed with dense forest or brush. The coast is rocky and indented with many sheltered bays, overshadowed by dark overhanging trees, amidst whose branches sit thousands of shags and cormorants, watching their finny prey in the clear shallows beneath.* *Kiahau Harbour* lies to the south of *Mata-kana;* it receives several small creeks, and affords sheltered anchorage.

The *Harbour of Waitemata,* the most important of the various havens in the Gulf of Hauraki, lies at its westernmost extremity, and is distant forty miles from Cape Rodney, and forty-five from Cape Colville.

AUCKLAND, the capital of the colony is situated on its southern shore, in 36° 51′ S. lat., 174° 45′ E. long.

The land opposite to the town forms a peninsula at high water, from which two conical hills rise, that called the *North Head,* or *Takapuna,* is 216 feet high, of an irregular form, and consists of a hard basaltic rock; the other, at a little distance from it, named *Takarunga,* is 279 feet high, and consists of black and reddish vesicular lava A signal station has been erected on its summit, where there is a crater partially broken in. The navigable entrance into the harbour is only three-quarters of a mile wide; it is between a reef, the outermost point of which is marked by a beacon, and an insulated rock, called, from its shape, the *Bastion,* which lies to the eastward of Auckland, and is about five miles distant from another small island or rock, called the *Sentinel.* The depth of the harbour is from six to nine miles in the mid-channel, and from three to three and-a-half at the sides. The inlet continues about ten miles to the westward, stretching its ramifications towards the opposite coast, sending an arm to the northward, towards the river *Kaipara,* and another to the southward, towards the *Harbour of Manukao,* on the opposite coast. The northern arm has a deep, but very narrow channel; shoals and rocks obstruct the southern passage, which can, however, be ascended by boats at high water to its extremity, from whence to Manukao there is a portage of one mile and-a-half. *Rangitoto Island* forms a grand natural breakwater to Waitemata Harbour; it is a triple peaked crater, rising in a conical shape, 920 feet above the level of the sea, and commanding a most extensive panorama of the mainland, and of the many lofty and volcanic islands, which, luxuriantly wooded as they are, and divided from each other by deep straits, give a variety to the scenery of Hauraki Gulf, unusual in New Zealand, in most of whose harbours, steep and uniform surrounding hills shut in the view, and confine it to a narrow space. *Waiheke,* the largest and most fertile of these islands lies to the eastward of Rangitoto and *Tapu Island,* which are divided only by a narrow passage. It is about thirty miles in circumference, and has a harbour for small vessels, while ships of a larger size find anchorage in the channel, between it and the main. Many cultivable valleys are found contiguous to the small sequestered bays, which indent its coast line, and are separated from each other by rocky promontories, covered, like the greater part of its irregular surface, with a dense vegetation, amid which the grey columnar stems of the lofty *kauri* are conspicuous.

A few miles to the eastward of Waitemata Harbour is an inlet called the *Tamaki,* the head of which is only a quarter of a mile

* Angus' *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* vol. ii., p. 165.

distant from the port of Manukao. At the entrance into this channel is a bar, with six feet depth at low water, but inside, the passage deepens; vessels of 200 tons can ascend for some distance, and large barges can go to the portage. There is good and level land on either side of the Tamaki, but no timber, only jungle.

*Coromandel Harbour* is situated nearly opposite the island of Waiheke, on the eastern shore of what is properly called the Frith of Thames, and lies between the embouche of that river and Cape Colville, being thirty-five miles distant from the former, and twenty-five from the latter. It is surrounded by hills, which on the eastward rise in a series of longitudinal ridges to the height of about 1,500 feet. One of the loftiest of these is surmounted by an enormous mass of basalt, which, having a castellated outline, and being visible at a great distance, forms a landmark called the *Castle Hill.* The shore is covered with verdure, and abounds in fine timber; but the harbour itself is better adapted for small than for large vessels, as, on account of the shallowness of the water, ships that require any great draught of water cannot enter far enough to be effectually protected from the outer swell, although there is good holding ground.

The *Frith of the Thames,* to the southward of Coromandel Harbour, is not accessible to vessels drawing above eight feet of water, as there are sand-banks and shallows at the southern extremity, where the Thames and Piako discharge. A mud-bank stretches out between the mouths of these rivers; there is, however, a channel into the Thames, and the tide runs up it nearly fifty miles, rendering it thus far navigable for small craft. Its width, at that point, is nearly equal to that of the English Thames at Richmond; its depth, about six feet, and its current moderately rapid. Boats and canoes can ascend as high as the falls at Mata-Mata, which is, by the river's course, about a hundred miles from its mouth.*

The *Piako* is very inferior in importance to its sister stream, being navigable only for boats. It rises in a hill called the *Maunga-Kawa,* and flows along the eastern slope of the *Maunga-Tautari* range, which runs toward the Gulf of Hauraki, separating the *Valley of the Thames* from that of the *Waipa* and *Waikato,* on the opposite or western side of the island. The so-called Valley of the Thames is a low table-land, nearly one hundred miles long, and from twenty to thirty broad, bounded on the westward by the aforesaid Maunga-Tautari range, and on the eastward by a chain of hills connected with the *Horo-Horo Mountains,* in which the Thames originates. These hills, the most remarkable of which is an isolated eminence, called *Aroha,* or the *Mountain of Love,* are generally wooded to their summits; they rise like an artificial wall between the river, which takes its winding course along their western slopes, and the sea-coast, and extend from the remarkable *Rotorua* district to Cape Colville, terminating to the northward in the long peninsula which forms the eastern limit of Hauraki Gulf, rearing their sharp crests, and presenting their steep rocky declivities on either side, but never attaining a height of more than 1,500 feet.

The Thames receives several tributaries from this ridge, one of which, the *Wai-riri,* or *Foaming Water,* forms a magnificent cascade, falling 800 feet in perpendicular height; another, called the *Ohenamuri,* disembogues at *Opite,* a native village, after flowing through a beautiful valley with hills skirting its banks, abounding with *kauri* timber.

Leaving Hauraki Gulf, and proceeding along the eastern coast in a southerly direction from Cape Colville, the next port is *Mercury Bay,* off the entrance of which lie some isles and rocks bearing the same name. The shores of the bay are very steep, being formed by the eastern declivities of the ridge whose western spurs abut on Coromandel Harbour, from which it is distant overland about sixteen miles. There is sheltered anchorage for small vessels in all winds, but the only part sufficiently deep for ships of large burthen is exposed to the tremendous north-easterly gales, which occasionally desolate this coast. In one of these H.M.S. *Buffalo* was wrecked, in August, 1840, having visited the bay to procure a cargo of spars. A creek of this harbour was called by Cook, *Oyster Cove,* on account of the abundance of that and other shell-fish found there.

To the southward the coast forms the deep curve known as the *Bay of Plenty.* Its aspect is in accordance with its name, the native cultivations often sloping down the gentle hills which skirt the belt of sand

* Dieffenbach's *Travels in New Zealand,* vol. i., p. 410. Terry's *New Zealand,* p. 41.

upon the sea-shore, while the rich *Pohutukawa trees,* (*Metrisoderos tomentosa,*) with their crimson blossoms, combining the beauties of a forest tree and a garden shrub, give the appearance of an ornamental plantation, instead of the usual bleak and barren features of the coast.* This immense roadstead contains several sheltered havens for small craft. *Tauranga* (on whose shores a missionary settlement, *Te Papa,* has been established,) has four fathoms water upon the bar, but the channel is not more than 100 yards in breadth, and bends at a sharp angle. The southern headland of this harbour is formed by a solitary conical hill, *Maunga-nui,* of about 500 feet in height, connected by low land with the main. The northern head spreads out into low and level ground, and is covered with fern for miles inland. Some islands of considerable dimensions and of the same structure and configuration as the mainland, are separated from it by broad channels. Two or three of these are stated by Dieffenbach to be about seven miles long and three broad; others are mere rocks; their height and that of the adjacent coast varies from forty to eighty feet above the level of the sea. A rugged island with narrow but fertile valleys whimsically named by Cook, the *Mayor,* and a group of islets called by him the *Court of Aldermen,* extend between Mercury Bay and Tauranga Harbour; into the latter several small streams disembogue. *Motiti* or *Flat Island,* forms a harbour called *Lowland Bay,* eight miles to the southward of which the *Temou* disembogues after a short course, originating in the hills to the eastward of *Lake Rotorua.*

About thirty miles to the south-eastward, of the *Temou,* is the embouchure of the *Rangitaikai,* and of as mall stream called the *Tara-wera,* where there is a mission station, named Mata-Mata, ten miles from which, in the centre of a large plain, stands *Putawaki,* or *Mount Edgecumbe,* a round eminence, about 7,000 feet high. Rangitaiki has several tributaries: about the middle of its course, its volume is increased by the united waters of the *Wirinaki* and the *Okahu.* Beyond Rangitaiki the coast forms a curve, called *Highland Bay,* at whose eastern extremity the river *Wakatani,* which rises in a mountain near *Lake Waikare,* and receives, on its right bank, the Waikare and the *Waimana*—falls into the sea. *Motuhora,* or *Whale Island,* in whose vicinity there is good anchorage, lies about seven miles from Highland Bay: to the north-eastward, at a distance of twenty to twenty-five miles from the main, is *Wakari,* or *White Island,* the most remarkable of the numerous volcanic islands which characterize the Bay of Plenty, being in a state of continual ignition, and vomiting forth, incessantly, a huge column of white smoke. It is low, and produces a large quantity of very pure sulphur.

Between the *Wakatani* and *Cape Runaway* are the small bar harbours of *Ohiwa* and *Opotiki:* between Cape Runaway and *Otiki,* or *East Cape,* or *Waiapu,* the coast is intersected by numerous creeks, and indented by several bays, which, however, afford but very imperfect shelter, except when the wind blows off the land. The extensive line of coast between Cape Waiapu, the eastern extremity of New Ulster, in 37° 42′ S. lat., 178° 40′ E. long., and *Cape Palliser,* or *Kawa-kawa,* its southern termination, in 41° 38′ S. lat., and 175° 21′ E. long., in the centre of which lies the deep bight, called by Cook, *Hawke Bay,* is not known to possess any haven capable of sheltering large vessels during the prevalence of north-easterly winds; it has, however, as yet, been but imperfectly examined. Soundings have been taken at a considerable distance from the shore, which vary generally from twenty-five to forty-two fathoms, deepening off East Cape, from fifty to sixty, and to ninety fathoms.

The country south of East Cape is fertilized by numerous small streams. The *Waiapu* runs in a broad shingly bed, through a lovely plain of grass and fern land; rich patches of wood are scattered over the higher parts of its valley, which is extremely picturesque, being overshadowed by the double head of *Ikurangi,* supported by its three satellites, *Aurangi, Taitai,* and *Wariki,* from whose heights descend the impetuous mountain torrents which, in summer, occasion frequent and sudden inundations. Passing a small, but convenient harbour, named *Tokomarou,* we reach *Haua,* or *Tologa Bay,* which lies about forty miles to the southward of the mouth of the Waiapu, and is described by Cook as moderately large, with good anchorage, and shelter from all winds, except the north-east. The tide rises about eight feet; the width at the mouth, between the headlands, is one mile and-a-half. On the south point lies a small,

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand,* p. 49.

but high island, at the extremity of which, in the entrance of the bay, are two rocks, one round, like a corn-stack, the other long, and perforated in several places, the openings appearing like the arches of a bridge. Fourteen miles to the southward is *Gable End Foreland,* a lofty cliff, brilliantly white, resembling the end of a large building, a short distance from which a rock rises, in the form of a spire. About twenty miles to the south-east is *Table Cape* or *Mahia,* the north point of *Tera-kako Peninsula,* in 39° 7′ S. lat., 178° 7′ E. long.; the shore between forms a horse-shoe-shaped inlet, called *Turanga,* or *Poverty Bay,* which is thus described by Captain Cook, who first landed here on the 8th October, 1769:—

"The two points which form the entrance are high, with steep white cliffs, and lie a league and a half or two leagues from each other, north-east by east and south-west by west, the depth of water in the bay is from twelve to five fathoms, with a sandy bottom and good anchorage; but the bay is open to the wind between the south and east. Boats can go in and out of the river [a small fresh-water stream] at any time of the tide in fine weather; but as there is a bar at the entrance, no boat can go either in or out when the sea runs high: the best place to attempt it is on the north-east side, and it is there practicable when it is not so in any other part. The shore of the bay, a little within its entrance, is a low flat sand; behind which, at a small distance, the face of the country is finely diversified by hills and valleys, all clothed with wood, and covered with verdure. The country also appears to be well inhabited, especially in the valleys leading up from the bay, where we daily saw smoke rising in clouds one behind another to a great distance, till the view terminated in mountains of a stupendous height. The south-west point of the bay I named *Young Nick's Head,* after Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw the land."*

Bishop Selwyn, describing the shore of *Poverty Bay,* and the bays to the northward, says:—

"The whole of this coast forms a succession of small bays with the most lovely scenery. The general character is a half-moon bay with a rich back ground of wooded hills, sloping down to a firm sandy beach of a warm, reddish-grey stone, which with a bright blue sky overhead (which was generally the case) forms a combination of the most pleasing colours; and with a large party of natives forming themselves into moveable groups, presented a succession of perfect landscapes."†

*Terakako Peninsula,* off whose southern extremity lies *Waikawa,* or *Portland Island,* a small island, with which it is almost, if not quite, connected by a rocky ridge, is united to the main by a low, narrow neck of land, and forms the northern entrance of the deep and wide inlet called *Hawke,* or *Wairoa Bay,* in which there is a depth of seven to twenty-four fathoms, and good holding ground.

The *Wairoa,*‡ a beautiful river, winding through an extensive plain, receiving several tributaries, and communicating with a chain of inland lakes, falls into this bay, in which the channels of many small streams likewise terminate. To the southward of the Wairoa is the pretty valley of *Arapaonui,* in whose vicinity are a succession of cliffs, or rather sandstone hills, which formerly were some way inland; but, by the encroachment of the sea, have been cut in two, and consequently drain inwards, occasioning the water to be lost in the dry soil, instead of flowing down to the beach. Bishop Selwyn speaks of having here had difficulty in obtaining water—a rare case in a country distinguished for the frequency of its pure and gushing streams.§ *Ahuriri Harbour* lies twelve miles south of Arapaoni. A few miles beyond, the *Tukituki* disembogues, after receiving four tributaries—the *Makaretu, Tukipo, Waipawaimate,* and *Waipawa,* which take their course through grassy plains, or gently undulating downs. *Cape Matau a Maui,* or *Kidnapper Point,* in 39° 42′ S. lat., 177° 10′ E. long., forms the southern head of Hawke Bay; from thence to Cape Palliser the coast is intersected by various small streams, which descend from a lofty mountain chain, running parallel with it, under the name of the *Puketoi,* and further southward of the *Maungaraki Mountains,* but the shores are very slightly indented. The land between Kidnapper Point and *Cape Turnagain* (*Te poro poro*), a high bluff head with yellowish cliffs, is of very unequal altitude; in some places it is lofty next the sea, with white cliffs; in others low, with sandy beaches; the country is not so well clothed with wood as about Hawke Bay, but resembles rather the high downs of England.

Between Cape Palliser and *Cape Campbell,* the north-eastern extremity of New Munster, or Middle Island, lies the southern entrance of *Cook Strait,* here about forty miles wide, the northern boundary of which (formed by the coast-line of New Ulster) is, during eight months of the year, a lee shore, the south and south-west

* Cook's *First Voyage Round the World,* p. 127.
† *Diocese of New Zealand Journal of Bishop Selwyn,* Nov. 1842, p. 74.

‡ There are various rivers of this name in New Zealand, *Wai* signifying water, and *roa* many.
§ *Bishop's Journal,* p. 71.

winds blowing with extreme and often sudden violence. Between Cape Palliser and *Cape Terawite*, the point at which New Ulster most nearly approaches New Munster, the Strait being here only seventeen miles wide, are two inlets, separated by a mountainous, fern-clad neck of land, terminating in a promontory called *Baring Head*, or *Cape Riwa-riwa*. The most easterly of these is *Palliser Bay*, a large open roadstead, notorious for the detention of vessels. The *Ruamahunga* takes its rise in the *Rimutaka Mountains*, from whence it receives several tributaries, flows through the *Wairarapa Valley* into the *Wairarapa Lake*, and communicates at some seasons with Palliser Bay by means of another smaller lake, the entrance to which is occasionally quite impracticable, and always very shallow.

The lakes cover an area of 50,000 acres. A late writer states that—

"The river Ruamahunga is itself navigable, the channel being sufficiently deep for vessels of forty or fifty tons, whilst whale boats can ascend the river for twenty or thirty miles above the lake. As the colony advances these lakes will no doubt be formed into inland harbours. The improvement of the navigation of the bar presents no insuperable difficulty, and from the great rise of the floods in the river (sixteen feet), it will be easy to direct the surplus water so as to form an available passage for larger vessels."*

About a mile from Baring Head is a bold cliff called *Pencarrow Head;* the curve between the two forms *Fitz-Roy Bay*, where small vessels sometimes ride out north-westerly gales.† Immediately to the westward is the entrance to *Port Nicholson*, through a channel about three miles in length, and varying from a mile to a mile and-a-half in width, with high precipitous hills on either hand, and deep water everywhere; except on one reef of sharp pyramidal rocks which runs some distance into the channel, leaving, however, abundant room for a ship to work in. The inlet then expands to the westward forming a basin, landlocked in nearly every part, of about five miles in diameter, with soundings varying from fourteen to three fathoms; two arms extend from it, on the south-westerly of which is situated the town of *Wellington*. The best harbour for ships is opposite to the embouchure of the *Hutt River*, which takes its rise in the *Tararua Mountains*, and flows through a fertile but limited valley; another stream, having the same origin, enters Cook Strait, after a rather longer course, at *Pencarrow Head.* The Hutt may be entered by large boats during flood tide, and ascended for a few miles.

The boundary hills, both to the east and west of Port Nicholson, rise abruptly from the water's edge; but in that part of the curved peninsula forming its south-western shores, in which *Wellington* is situated, there is a strip of flat land at their base, about one-third of a mile broad, consisting of a soil composed of sand, shells, shingle, and vegetable earth, extending to the western headland of the harbour, where the hills are low and undulating. At the town of Wellington there is consequently a long extent of water frontage, with deep water at a few yards from the shore. Port Nicholson is unquestionably a spacious and beautiful harbour, but it has the great disadvantage of being, from its position, insufficiently protected from the heavy gales frequent in the Strait, by which vessels are delayed for days together, before they can make or leave the port. The prevailing winds (according to Dieffenbach) are north-west 200 days in the year, and during the remaining days south and south-east.‡

The extreme barrenness of the land near the coast, between and about *Capes Terawite*

* *Handbook for New Zealand*, by a late magistrate of the colony. 1848.

† *Cook's Strait Almanack.*

‡ Angus expatiates, with the delight of an artist, on the varied beauties of Port Nicholson, describing it as resembling, "*on a sunny day*, a large blue lake embosomed deep in hills and rocky precipices, the islands in its centre glistening in the sunshine," while to the northward the valley of the Hutt stretches up towards the snowy range of Tararua, whose white peaks stand out against the azure sky, a beach of fine white sand meeting the water's edge. —(Vol. I. p. 234.) The picture of the harbour on a *windy day* is the far less pleasing counterpart of the above. The same writer describes the wind rushing in as through a funnel with unrelenting fury. "These 'south-easters,' as they are termed, generally continue two or three days, the storm being at its height on the second day. During a very severe gale of this kind, we were unable to hold communication with the vessel for three days, and in many of the houses no lights could be burned. So great was the violence of the wind that it was impossible to stand out of doors, and the wooden houses rocked in such a manner at night that many were afraid they should be blown out of their beds. Not long since a sudden gust of wind, during one of these gales, actually raised a large boat that was on the beach, and carried it along for a considerable distance, a woman being killed on the spot where it fell. The vessels in the anchorage were rolling about tremendously; several dragged their anchors; boats were swamped and driven ashore; and the squalls swept down the hills with an impetuosity that almost stove in the houses."—(Vol. i., pp. 242, 243.)

and Palliser, was attributed by Cook to its exposure to the cold southerly winds.

The whole extent from Cape Terawite to *Cape Egmont*, in 39° 20′ S. lat., 173° 40′ E. long., where the northern shores of Cook Strait terminate, is remarkably deficient in shelter for ships. It is, however, intersected by rivers, whose number is so great as to constitute a feature peculiar to New Zealand; all are barred at the mouth, but several admit small craft at full tide, and are navigable for some distance, affording facilities for internal communication, which the mountainous nature of the country, its dense woods, almost impenetrable jungle, and extensive swamps, render extremely valuable. The course of these rivers is short, rising, as they do, not far from the sea-coast; and, from their flowing between hills, which give them many tributaries, the violent rains often swell them suddenly, and the streamlet becomes a mountain torrent, inundating the low alluvial land forming its banks, and carrying with it the stems of large trees, especially pines, which either remain fixed in its bed, or are buried near the sea-coast, when driven back and left dry by the tide.* *Porirua Harbour*, a small land-locked haven ten miles to the northward of Port Nicholson, communicates with an inlet, which here opens in the rock-bound coast, by means of a gut about 100 yards in breadth, through which the tide, at its ebb and flow, rushes with great violence. On the bar, there are about fifteen feet at high-water spring tides, the fall of tide varying from six to seven feet.†

A tolerably good roadstead, with four fathoms water, extends between Porirua and the north end of *Mana*, or *Table Island*, an island about two miles long, by half-a-mile broad, affording pasturage for sheep and cattle, where a sheep station was established as early as 1838.‡ *Kapiti*, or *Entry Isle*, lies fifteen miles to the northward of Mana, is about twenty-five miles in circumference, of an oval shape, and consists of a ridge of steep forest-clad hills, which descend abruptly to the water's edge, forming a rocky and almost inaccessible shore, throughout the greater part of its extent. One high peak rises nearly in the centre of the island, and is visible at a considerable distance. The surface of the southern extremity of Kapiti is less rugged, and here the natives have their plantations; off it lie three rocky islets, which afford anchorage for a limited number of ships, and were formerly much frequented by whalers, as likewise the north-eastern end of the chief island, where a whaling station has been long established. About four miles from Mana on the mainland, is the native settlement of *Waikanae*, situated at the mouth of a stream of the same name, originating in the Tararua mountains, which here take a more easterly direction, leaving a wider belt of light, open, and level, or gently undulating land, between them and the broad sand beach, backed by sand hills, which extends as far north as the mouth of the Wanganui river, in 39° 57′ S. lat.

The mouth of the *Manawatu*, the largest river which disembogues in Cook Strait, is situated twenty-five miles to the northward of Kapiti. The tide rises eight feet. Its breadth at the mouth is about 300 yards at half tide; its depth over the bar only seven feet at low water, but inside the bar the channel deepens sufficiently to admit small vessels for about fifty miles. The Manawatu rises on the side of the most elevated inland group of mountains, flows beside their base, and then forming a cataract, dashes through a gorge between high cliffs, clothed with wood from their summit to the water's edge, which divides the *Rua Hine* from the Tararua mountains. It receives several tributaries on either bank during its course, which is so tortuous, that in some places, after making a sweep of several miles, it returns within a quarter of a mile of the same spot, and in this manner forms paddocks of very fertile land, often clear, but in parts rich in many kinds of timber.§ About six miles from the Manawatu, the *Rangitiki*, a smaller stream, descends from the Rua Hine mountains and enters the strait. The *Turakino*, which has its source in the same range, terminates seventeen miles further to the north-west; it is fordable at low water, but full of quicksands, as is also the *Wangaihu*, a stream which originates in the south-east side of the *Ruapehu Mountain*, and after watering a

* *Travels in New Zealand*, by Dr. Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 125.

† Cook's *First Voyage Round the World*, p. 483.

‡ *Handbook for New Zealand;* by a late magistrate of the colony, p. 128.

§ Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 126.—" The natives have a legend that it [the Manawatu] was formed by an atua, or ' evil spirit,' who was in the form of a large totara-tree, and wormed himself along like an eel, on his way from the east coast to Cook's Strait. * * * One point on the banks of the Manawatu, thirty-six miles by the windings of the river, is only eight in a straight line from the sea."—*Handbook for New Zealand;* by a late magistrate of the colony, p. 118.

considerable tract of country, disembogues three miles to the north of the Turakino.

Nine miles beyond the Wangaihu is the mouth of the *Wanganui River*, an opening half a mile wide, with a dangerous shifting bar, over which the sea breaks at low water. Inside the bar the channel deepens, and is about three hundred yards wide, the low sandy banks being covered with drift-wood and pumice-stone, which the river brings down from its source in the *Tongariro Mountain*, whence it flows through a bed of about 200 miles in length, in the course of which it is swollen by several considerable tributaries, and passing through a great extent of mountainous country, is subject to considerable freshets, which, however, do not rise above its present banks. The little settlement of *Petre*, or *Wanganui*, is situated four miles up the river, which is navigable for small craft about fifteen miles further: at that distance from the coast numerous falls and rapids obstruct the navigation; but the natives, whose pahs and cultivations occupy the available land on either side of the Wanganui, pole their canoes (some of which carry a cargo of a ton weight) with singular dexterity, almost to the head waters at the foot of Tongariro.

The scenery of the upper part of the river is exceedingly grand and imposing; about thirty miles from its embouche the hills close in, and the channel winds between ridges, eight hundred or a thousand feet in height, clothed with every variety of forest timber and fern, the slopes being occupied by native settlements: in other parts it is overhung by trees, growing on the summit of the precipitous cliffs, fringed with graceful ferns and mosses down to the water's edge, by which it is hemmed in.*

The coast from Wanganui to Cape Egmont presents a cliff of moderate height, on the top of which the land is flat, rising with a very gentle ascent towards the latter point. The intervening streams worth notice are the *Waitotara*, whose valley is described as resembling, on a much smaller scale, that of the Wanganui, from which it is about twenty miles distant, and the *Patea*, a river originating at the foot of *Taranaki*, or *Mount Egmont*, and flowing through the south-western portion of the fertile tract of open country known as the Taranaki District, in the centre of which the noble eminence itself, rises, from a generally level country, to the height of 8,840 feet, by a gradual ascent from a circle about thirty miles in diameter, which forms the outer circumference of its base. About half this circumference, viz., from the *Waimate*, (a small stream, whose embouche lies about twenty miles to the north-eastward of the Patea,) to *Sugar-loaf Point*, in 38° 55′ N. lat., 174° 1′ E. long., is bounded by the sea coast; Cape Egmont being the most western point of this circle, half of whose area is considered to be sufficiently level for cultivation.† Three branches, or buttresses, diverge from Taranaki, but, from their inferior height, the lofty cone itself appears almost wholly isolated; one of these stretches nearly to Cape Egmont; another extends inland, in the direction of the still active volcano of Tongariro; while the third runs in a parallel direction with the coast, separating an undulating belt of available land, in which the settlement of New Plymouth is situated, from the broken country watered by the western tributaries of the Wanganui river. A countless number of streams flow into the sea from Mount Egmont, or from several small lagoons between it and the coast.

Sugarloaf Point is a dome-like cone, of trachitic porphyry, which rises about 300 feet, in an isolated position, with one side of its base washed by the sea. In its neighbourhood large boulders of volcanic rock are cemented together into a solid conglomerate, which seems to extend like a stream of lava from Mount Egmont into the sea, but cannot be traced far inland. The *Sugar-loaf Islands* are five in number, the largest of them is extremely steep, about one mile in circumference, and 500 feet high; the vegetation is confined to flax, and a few other plants, which grow in the interstices of the rock. *Moturoa*, the northernmost, is joined to the main by an isthmus, dry at low water of spring tides.

The *Roadstead of New Plymouth*, situated immediately opposite the town, is sheltered by these islets from south-west winds, but is exposed to the west and north-west winds, which frequently blow with extreme violence, rendering the anchorage precarious, and causing a heavy surf upon the beach. The holding ground also is bad, the bottom for the most part being sand over rocks.‡

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 121. Power, pp. 108, 150. *Adventure in New Zealand*, by E. J. Wakefield, vol. i., p. 262; vol. ii., p. 89.

† *Handbook for New Zealand*; by a late magistrate, p. 273.

‡ Mr. Hursthouse comments upon the erroneous

One circumstance, however, in favour of the roadstead is that the appearance of the weather invariably gives a warning of sufficient length, to enable ships to get under weigh and make an offing.* The *Huatoki, Waiwakaiho, Waiongona,* and *Waitera,* flow into it from the hilly ridge already mentioned. The last and longest of these streams enters the sea twelve miles to the north-eastward of the Sugarloaf Islands, and has a bar at its mouth nearly dry at low water, with a rise of twelve feet in the spring tides; inside the bar the river is navigable for boats for about three miles. From this point the sea shore becomes elevated, rising in cliffs, which at the mouth of the *Urinui River* are about 100 feet high; the lowest formation consists of marly clay, above which, twenty feet from the beach, is a formation of wood, very little altered or carbonized, and ten feet in thickness, but irregular, surmounted by a loamy soil. A little farther on the scenery becomes very picturesque, the constant action of the waves having formed the soft yellow sandstone into fantastic shapes, resembling walls and castellated turrets, surrounded by balconies, the effect being greatly increased by the profuse vegetation of fern, alternating with forest, which continues to the water's edge. This formation extends to the bar harbour, practicable at certain seasons for small craft, formed by the mouth of the *Mokau,* a river which flows from a range of hills called *Rangitoto,* lying west of Lake Taupo, through a fertile, but mountainous and densely-wooded country.†

Another river, named the *Marokopa,* originating in the same ridge, discharges itself into the sea, between the embouche of the Mokau and Kawia Harbour, an inlet of which Dr. Dieffenbach gives the following account:—

"The harbour has a clear entrance about a mile and a quarter broad, with two fathoms at dead low water spring-tides. The tide rises twelve feet. The best anchorage is along the northern shore, where the depth varies from five to eight fathoms. The harbour forms an irregular basin, and is joined by two rivers [the *Wahi-hara-keke* and the *Awaroa*] which descend from the hill range and admit boats."‡

A mission station is prettily situated at the south-eastern extremity of the harbour: Kawia is separated by a small promontory, skirted with fine pokutukaua trees from *Aotia Harbour,* a long, shallow estuary, with a bar at its mouth, which at high tide presents a noble expanse of water, but at other times is little more than a succession of mud flats.

Proceeding northward along the coast, the next remarkable feature is *Woody Head,* the name given to a rocky group of hills, 900 feet high, which form the southern head of *Wangaroa Harbour,*§ whose northern shores are composed of limestone cliffs, from sixty to seventy feet high, corroded by the action of the water, and half-concealed by the overhanging verdure. The harbour itself is a long inlet, with a bar at the entrance; it has, however, a channel of twelve feet at low water, and admits smaller craft, which find shelter in several bays on the northern shore. The tide rises ten feet.|| The *Wai-te-Tuna,* a small stream, flowing into Wangaroa from the eastward, has a channel for boats; and from the point at which, on account of falls, it ceases to be navigable, an easy walk of four hours across the coast range, which slopes gently on either side, leads to the left bank of the *Waipa,* some miles above the confluence of that stream with the *Waikato.* *Waikato River* rises amid the snows and glaciers of the Ruapehu Mountain, and flows in a rapid current, by a very circuitous channel, into the southern extremity of Lake Taupo, having received several tributaries on its left bank; it issues thence a

opinions that the wreck of the third vessel despatched to New Plymouth, and the danger incurred by the emigrant ship *Oriental* have given rise to concerning the character of the roadstead; he states that of 259 vessels which had visited it at all seasons of the year, but one ship and fourteen anchors had been lost; and some of these accidents were such as, after seven years' experience, would hardly occur again.—*Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth,* by Charles Hursthouse, Jun., 1849; pp. 79, 85.

* The country comprised in the Taranaki settlement will be more particularly described elsewhere.

† In the early part of its course, near the native village of *Wakatumu,* the Mokau dashes down a perpendicular wall of rock, from a height of about sixty feet, in one broad sheet of water. The rocky steeps on each side the chasm are clothed with evergreens, among which the graceful rimu pine stands pre-eminent; high broken rocks resembling castles, fortresses, and towers rise on the opposite side of the glen, and the surrounding hills are wild, and covered with fern.—Angas, vol. ii., p. 84.

‡ *Travels in New Zealand,* vol. i., p. 308.

§ This harbour must not be mistaken for that situated to the north of the Bay of Islands, described at p. 260, *Wanga,* in the Maori language signifying "many waters" and *roa* "noisy," the term Wangaroa is frequently applied. The reader will probably have observed that the names of most of the rivers are prefaced with *Wai,* a Maori word signifying "water."

|| Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 305.

stately stream, about 300 yards wide, and of considerable depth, its volume having been augmented by the waters of several mountain torrents, which fall into the lake from the southward, and of which the Waikato is the common outlet. From the high level of the country round Taupo, the river takes a north-westerly direction, through the centre of the island, gradually approaching the western coast, and is interrupted by occasional falls and rapids in its descent. It is, however, navigable from its sea-mouth, which admits vessels of thirty tons, for a distance of about one hundred miles, when it is joined by the *Waipa*,* which is navigable for boats sixty miles farther.

The left shore of the Waikato consists, for about eight miles from the sea, of shifting sand; the right shore is hilly, and at the foot of the hills, near the embouchure of the river, is *Maraenui*, a station of the Church Missionary Society. There are many small islands in the channel of the river, some of them a mile in length, wooded to the water's edge, and possessing rich alluvial soils. According to Dr. Dieffenbach, the Waikato, with its steep banks, and deep, rapid stream, might advantageously be converted, throughout its course, into a canal, by which means an extensive water communication would be opened to the very heart of the island.

The *Mangakino*, the *Waipapa*, and the *Mangawio*, descend into the Waikato from a mountain range, whose precipitous and fantastic crests border the left bank of the river, when it emerges from Lake Taupo. The *Awaroa* branches off from the Waikato, about eight miles from its mouth, in a northerly direction, and extends to within a short portage of the southern arm of Manukao Harbour.

The *Waipa*, though it has a far shorter course than the Waikato, is in other respects, a more important stream. It rises in the Tongariro group, and flows through a picturesque and lightly wooded valley, bounded to the westward by the coast range, and to the eastward by the Maunga Tautari hills. This valley, which has an average breadth of thirty miles, and may be more properly called a table land, rivals in fertility the best districts in the island, possessing a volcanic soil, with much alluvium, and having the advantage of being perhaps the most sheltered region in the whole country.

From the mouth of the Waikato river, to the southern head of *Manukao Harbour*, a distance of about thirty miles, the coast runs nearly north and south, and consists of a broad and hard sandy beach, with soft sandstone cliffs, of a moderate height. Manukao Harbour is an inlet, about fifteen miles long, and eight broad. Its south head is formed by a remarkable steep hill, of white conglomerate, heaped up by north-westerly gales; its north head by black conglomerate, of a rugged shape:—

"Inside the outer head the coast presents a bold rocky precipice, alternating with small secluded bays, but a vigorous vegetation covers them to the water's edge, and kauri trees have grown in places where the precipice is inaccessible on account of its rapid declivity. About three miles from the outer headland, the coast sweeps at a right angle round a cliffy inner headland, thus forming a neck of land about three miles long and as many broad. Round this headland, close in shore, is the best anchorage in the harbour, perfectly sheltered from the north-west and south-west winds. A swell which would be liable to set in from the harbour itself is broken by a long sand bank occupying the centre of the basin. The southern shore of the harbour consists of undulating and fertile land, which extends from Onehunga towards the Waikato. There is a second channel on that side of the harbour, and a channel for boats extends towards an arm of the Waikato river, the Awaroa. * * * Although the harbour of Manukao has a bar at the entrance, there is a deep and free channel three quarters of a mile broad, close to the northern head. Once between the heads the channel is deep and free from danger. The tide is full two hours and three quarters later in Manukao than at Waitemata [the harbour of Auckland on the opposite coast] and rises ten feet and a half."†

A long line of sandhills stretches from Manukao to *Kaipara Harbour*,‡ an extensive estuary, into which the tide, (rising ten feet at full and change,) rushes with great velocity. There is no bar at the entrance, but there are shoals and sand banks in the offing, which however leave a channel on either side, between them and the main land. Of these, the southern is the deepest: the soundings vary according to the season of the year; the breadth is about two miles. The harbour branches into several arms, which receive streams of fresh water: the southernmost of these, the *Kaipara*, flows

* Bishop Selwyn describes the junction of the Waikato and Waipa, as reminding him of the confluence of the Rhone with the Saone, at Lyons; the Waikato rushing in like an arrow, and answering to the Rhone—the Waipa to the quiet Saone.

† Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 294.

‡ Captain Fitz-Roy states that the largest ship may enter or leave either Kaipara or Manukao "without unusual difficulty."—Parliamentary Papers, 1846, p. 127.

in a moderate-sized valley, formed by the hills which bound the sea coast between Manukao and Kaipara harbours, and is separated from an inlet of the harbour of Waitemata, in Hauraki Gulf, by a low isthmus, only three miles in breadth, of which mention has been before made. The Kaipara is navigable for large boats as far as the tide runs up. It is serpentine in its course, and forms a number of paddocks of alluvial land, which a little drainage would render very valuable. The most important of the rivers of which Kaipara is the estuary is not, however, that from which it takes its name; the *Wairoa* (*long water*), which flows into the northern arm of this extensive inlet, being a far more imposing stream. This latter rises in the hills, on the northern slope of which the *Waima*, an arm of the *Hokianga*, has its source. It is described by a local writer as being navigable, for seventy miles up, for a ship of 600 tons, and as being practicable, 150 miles, for a vessel of 150 tons* (reckoning, evidently, from the entrance of the harbour.) Dieffenbach speaks of it as navigable for canoes for 138 miles, from the head of the harbour, where their further progress is prevented by rapids; he adds,

"Small vessels can go up the Wairoa eighty-five miles from the head of the harbour, where there is a depth of twelve feet; but only fifteen miles lower down, the river has water and a clear channel for vessels of any burden, and also anchorage close in shore." (Vol. i., p. 267.)

The *Otomalia* rises among the hills, near Wangari harbour, on the eastern coast, and flows into Kaipara harbour to the southward of the Wairoa. Much valuable timber is found on its banks, which like those of the other rivers terminating in the Kaipara estuary, afford sufficient available land to enable the colonist to combine agricultural pursuits with the timber trade.

A bold shore, little broken by water-courses, extends in a north-westerly direction from the North Head of Kaipara, and is backed by a mountain ridge, of which the most conspicuous feature is *Mount Manganui* a steep, bluff headland, running out into the sea, rising to a considerable height above the neighbouring country, and forming a landmark to vessels desiring to enter the intricate and barred entrance of the *Hokianga River* in 35° 32′ S. lat., 173° 27′ E. long. A pilot is, however, stationed at the heads, with whose assistance vessels of 500 tons can safely enter. This estuary, on whose shores the first Wesleyan mission station was established in 1820, stretches inland, and is navigable thirty miles from its mouth, which may be distinguished by a succession of sand hills on the northern shore, and by the shrubby vegetation and dark rocks, which characterise the southern head. The bar lies nearly two miles out at sea, and should not be taken with the ebb of the tide, which rises from ten to fourteen feet.

The banks of the Hokianga are steep, and heavily timbered. The cultivable tracts in its vicinity are small, dispersed among hills, and intersected by innumerable creeks and mangrove swamps. Among the streams which flow from every direction into the Hokianga estuary, are the *Mangamuka*, which rises near Mount Maunga-taniwa, and has a course of about twenty miles, for the last half of which it is navigable for vessels of moderate burthen;—the *Waiho*, and the *Wir-inake*.

About fifteen miles to the northward of the mouth of the Hokianga, is the embouchure of *Wangape River*, sometimes called *False Hokianga*, from the resemblance between its abrupt shores covered with dark vegetation, and those of the neighbouring harbour. The entrance is somewhat narrow, and there is a small rock near the north head: the soundings at the entrance are said to be three fathoms, and the channel leading to the native village of *Rotokakuhi* has four fathoms.† The remaining portion of the western coast of New Ulster is extremely bleak and forbidding. The long, narrow, sandy peninsula which forms the northern extremity of the island terminates to the westward in the low rocky promontory, first sighted by Tasman, in 1643, and named by him Cape Maria Van Diemen, off which at a distance of about twenty miles, lie the *Three Kings*, a cluster of conical islets. From Cape Maria the coast line takes an easterly direction, and is occupied by sand-hills for about four miles, when it again rises in a towering and precipitous cliff of conglomerate rock, unapproachable from the seaward, which extends for about six miles, and against which the ocean dashes with extreme violence. To

* *Remarks on New Zealand.* By Walter Brodie. 1845.

† Polack describes Wangape as a large bay about six miles wide from north to south but no such bay is laid down either by Arrowsmith or any other hydrographer.—*Travels and Adventures in New Zealand, between the years* 1831 *and* 1837, by J. S. Polack, Esq., pp. 267, 268.

this dreary locality, whose gloomy desolation is rendered yet more striking by the shrieks of innumerable wild fowl, the New Zealanders have given the name of the *Reinga* or *Flight*, and they hold it sacred, supposing that the soul newly freed from its mortal coil, here takes its leave of this material world and enters the precints of the Reinga or world of spirits, descending down the face of the cliff. A curve called *Sandy Bay*, which however affords no anchorage, succeeds the rock-bound shore, and from thence to North Cape, at which point our running survey of the coast line commenced, a barren and inhospitable country continues, consisting of banks of white sand. Cook describing the aspect of this vicinity, says—

"In about latitude 35° 45′ is some high land adjoining to the sea; to the southward of which the shore, is also high, and has the most desolate and inhospitable appearance that can be imagined. Nothing is to be seen but hills of sand, on which there is scarcely a blade of verdure; and a vast sea, impelled by the westerly winds, breaking upon it in a dreadful surf, renders it not only forlorn, but frightful; complicating the idea of danger with desolation, and impressing the mind at once with a sense of misery and death."—*First Voyage Round the World*, p. 161.

Mountains.—Dr. Dieffenbach, after examining a large portion of the interior of New Ulster, arrived at the conclusion that there was "no regular system of a mountain range running through the island." There are, however, many ridges more or less connected with one another, and almost invariably assuming a north and south direction. Several of these, although devoid of the strongly marked and rugged outline which distinguishes chains of granitic or primitive formation, yet afford much picturesque and varied scenery; huge glaciers and plains of snow characterize the loftiest summits, whence impetuous torrents pour down, forming numerous cataracts in their rapid descent, and nourishing the dense vegetation of stately trees or luxuriant fern, which grows in many places even to the verge of perpetual snow, and entirely covers the winding hills of inferior height, that skirt the base of the loftiest eminences. The coast line, as we have already seen, is generally backed by a chain of high land, varying in altitude and in distance from the shore. Of the interior ranges the most striking is that called the *Rua Hine*, which is connected to the southward with the *Tararua* and *Remutaka* mountains, and to the northward with the magnificent group formed by the *Ruapehu*, *Tongariro*, and two or three lesser peaks, near the centre of the island. The Ruapehu, an extinct volcano, reaches far above the limits of perpetual snow. Its height is estimated at 9,000 feet. A narrow valley intervenes between it and Tongariro, a volcano in active operation, from the summit of whose truncated cone white vapours rise from time to time, while dense smoke issues from several crevices in the steep hills on which it stands. During several months of the year, snow extends for a considerable distance down the sides of Tongariro peak (whose altitude above the sea is about 6,200 feet), and likewise crowns the inferior eminences clustered around; near its termination are boiling springs, which send up volumes of steam: forests clothe the lower declivities for some miles, the ascent commencing in fern hills. *Taranaki* or *Mount Egmont*, an extinct volcano situated in the south-western extremity of the island, has been already mentioned, and will be again referred to in the section on geology. The height of *Mount Edgecumbe*, a lofty peak sheltering the shore of Highland Bay in the Bay of Plenty, has not been ascertained, but it is supposed to be about 7,000 feet.

Rivers and Lakes.—The principal rivers in New Ulster, have been described with the portion of the coast line in which their outlet is situated, all of any importance join the sea, but several small streams flow into *Lake Taupo*, the largest of a chain of lakes which occupy the centre of the island, and are most of them intimately connected with the eruptive character of the country. Lake Taupo lies twelve miles north of Tongariro; its waters are supposed to be at present 1,337 feet above the level of the sea, but various appearances indicate, that it had formerly a much higher level. It is of an irregular triangular shape; its greatest length is about thirty-six miles, and its greatest breadth about twenty-five; its borders are in many places deeply indented. The western shore recedes, forming a deep hollow bay called *Karangahape*, at either extremity of which, precipitous cliffs rise to the height of many hundred feet, the adjacent country presenting a series of abrupt peaks, and seeming "like a sea of lava cooled while in a state of violent agitation."* The eastern and southern shores, consist of high pumice-stone cliffs, which are continually undermined, broken down, and carried away by the current of the Waikato, which enters

* *Church in the Colonies.* New Zealand. Part ii., p 39.

the southern extremity of Lake Taupo by a sluggish shallow mouth, but issues from it, at a spot marked by an isolated eminence called Tauhara, a deep and rapid stream. A small but delicious kind of fish abounds in the lake, and in fine weather many canoes are out fishing, but the natives are afraid of trusting themselves on its broad expanse, whenever there is the slightest indication of strong winds, for the lake being on most sides surrounded by lofty and almost perpendicular cliffs divided by gullies, its waves are frequently very high, and squalls are both sudden and dangerous.

*Lake Roto-airo*, the chief source of the Upper Waikato, is situated immediately under the north side of Tongariro, whose snowy and rugged top, contrasts very strikingly with the soft woodland scenery interspersed with numerous and extensive patches of native cultivation, which adorn the opposite shore. This lake is about three miles in length; its level above the sea is 1,709 feet, that of *Roto-Pounamu* a much smaller sheet of water, a mile and a half distant, is 438 feet higher. Roto-Pounamu is hemmed in on all sides by precipitous, basaltic rocks, and the surrounding mountains are clothed with almost impenetrable under-wood. It is about a mile and a half in circumference, apparently of great depth, and has no visible outlet. *Roto-Kawa* or *Bitter Lake,* so called from its waters being strongly impregnated with alum, lies on the north-eastern slope of Tauhara Mountain, and is three miles in circumference.* *Roto-rua Lake* is situated about thirty-five miles to the north-eastward of Taupo. It is twenty-five miles in circumference, and nearly circular. The hills which surround it are low, and generally covered with fern, but to the westward a wooded range rises to the height of about 800 feet. The peculiar feature connected with Roto-rua Lake is the number of hot springs which at several places rise close to its banks. Of these a most interesting description is given by the Bishop of New Zealand, who, alluding to a spot about three miles from the native village of *Ohinemutu,* which he examined in 1843, says,

"Here [at Wakarewarewa] are to be seen all varieties of Ngawha (hot springs). There are mud cauldrons, black, blue, grey, green, yellow, and red, the very emblem of laziness; a faint stream rises from them, and ever and anon a solitary bubble of gas disengages itself slowly from the surface, which then returns to its usual dulness. Close by the side of these, and in strong contrast, are the clear pools of boiling water, of great depth, and of bright azure, enclosed in precipitous walls of sulphurous formation; from some of these hot streams flow down, which are guided by the natives either into artificial baths, or into natural hollows of the rocks; the supply of hot water being so regulated as to keep the bath at the right temperature. Among these cauldrons and pools, a strong and rapid stream of cold water rushes down, in some places not a yard from the spot at which the natives are sitting up to their breasts in hot water, shelling Tawa berries, or peeling potatoes, or, failing these employments, enjoying their never failing resource of smoking. But by far the most beautiful springs are the boiling jets, which are thrown up to the height of many feet from a narrow orifice in the top of an irregular cone, formed of the matter held in solution by the water, which is deposited as it cools, and forms a substance of a pinkish-white colour, sometimes also tinged with yellow by crystals of sulphur. It is perfectly safe to stand upon the tops of these cones, to the windward of the spout, and from that position it is grand, first, to hear the roaring and boiling of the cauldron, and then to see the jet spring up into the air, shivered by the force of its projection into silvery foam, and accompanied by a volume of white steam. The hot water, in its descent, trickles down the sides of the crater, and falls into several natural baths of most agreeable temperature, formed in the pure and white substance of the cone, and lined with the same matter in its half formed state, still yielding and elastic. Here the traveller may lie at his ease, and watch the bursting of the boiling fountain above him: but if the wind should happen to change, he must shift his position, or his place will soon be too hot for him. A small native village is here, with the usual appurtenances of a native steam kitchen at the hot-springs; namely, hot plates, made of large slabs of stone, laid over boiling water to dry the Tawa berry upon; steam hanghis, or native ovens, always in readiness, and holes of boiling water in which fish and potatoes can be speedily cooked. A native swing completes the equipment of this fashionable watering-place, which, together with the game of draughts, relieve the ennui of those who resort to the baths."†

In the centre of the lake is an island named *Mokoia,* about a mile in length, on which there is a native village, surrounded by boiling springs. Roto-rua discharges its waters, by a deep stream about a quarter of a mile long, into another lake named *Roto-iti* (*small lake*), of a very irregular shape, and bordered by fern-clad hills.

*Tara-wera,* which Dr. Selwyn calls "the gem of the lake scenery of New Zealand," is situated a few miles to the south-eastward of Roto-rua, and is about three miles in length. The southern shore is marked by a lofty mountain, with a broad serrated top, looking like the frustrum of a large cone, from which the point had been violently torn off, leaving a jagged outline.‡

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p.376.

† *Church in the Colonies.* New Zealand. Part ii., pp. 31, 32.

‡ *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand,* p. 85. Published in 1847, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The principal pah is strongly fenced on all sides, and picturesquely situated on a fertile neck of land, a mile in breadth, which separates Tara-wera from another lake named *Kareka,* of about six miles in circumference, with hilly or rocky shores, generally wooded. Dieffenbach records a circumstance with regard to Lake Tarawera, which seems to throw some light on the subject of the peculiar configuration of this portion of New Ulster :—

"The rocky shores are lined with pohutukaua-trees, other vegetation also overhangs the cliffs and peep out of the fissures of the rock. I was somewhat surprised to find the pohutukaua-tree (Metrosideros tomentosa) on this inland lake, as it is a tree which I never found but on the sea-shore. This may perhaps be regarded as another confirmation of the theory, that the lakes which run in a continued chain from Taupo to the eastern coast are the remains of a former arm of the sea, and have been shut from it by an uplifting of the land." (Vol. i., p. 384.)

Tara-wera is connected with two small lakes, by a rapid, but narrow and serpentine stream, whose waters are of a temperature of 85 degrees, and from whose banks issue numerous hot springs. The larger of these, *Roto-Mahana,* or *Warm-lake,* is not more than one mile in circumference. Its distinguishing feature is a singularly beautiful cascade, formed by the descent of the waters of a boiling pond, down a flight of broad steps, "the colour of white marble with a rosy tint," into the clear, blue lake, which is itself encircled by verdant hills, and adorned by several islets, some of bare rock, others covered with shrubs, the freshness of whose green foliage, would seem rather heightened than impaired, by the clouds of steam issuing from a hundred openings, around and among them. The steps, which are firm, like porcelain, about fifty in number, and from one to two feet broad, are the result of the siliceous deposits of the waters of the pond. The concretions assume interesting forms of mamillary stalagmites, of the colour of milk-white chalcedony, nor are there wanting stalactites of various sizes to enhance the romantic, and almost magical effect of the scene which greets the eye of the traveller, on attaining the crest of the surrounding hills. A species of water-fowl, called *porphyrio* or *pukeko,* ducks and snipes, frequent the lake in great numbers, as also gulls, which feed upon a small fish that abounds there.—Dieffenbach, pp. 381—383.

The *Wairarapa Lakes* have been described (see p. 266), the only remaining one in New Ulster which needs mention, is that of *Mapere,* or *Omapere,* a sheet of water about one square mile and a half in extent, situated in the northern extremity of the island, near Waimate. Mapere is apparently of no great depth,* nearly circular in form, surrounded by wooded and sloping hills, and bordered, at some parts of its circumference, by extensive tracts of level and fertile land. Occasionally, the shores are steep, and consist of basaltic lava, a fact which seems to indicate that the lake was formerly the site of a crater; and this supposition is confirmed by a tradition extant among the natives, that a large village, with its inhabitants, was here suddenly engulfed during an earthquake.

Auckland and the Northern Peninsula.—Having endeavoured to convey to the reader an idea of the coast line, mountains, and rivers of the Northern Island, it remains to shew the leading topographical features of the several districts into which it is naturally, or politically divided. Unfortunately these divisions are as yet very imperfectly defined; the first and most obvious comprises the long Northern Peninsula, which extends in a north-west and south-east direction for about 200 miles, with a breadth varying from five to fifty miles, and is bounded on the south, by a narrow isthmus separating the waters of Waitemata Harbour, from those of Manukao,† on the opposite or western coast. On this isthmus, and on the southern shore of Waitemata Harbour, is situated Auckland, the principal seat of government in New Zealand. Its position, as the capital of a maritime and commercial colony, with ready access from either coast, is of manifest importance; besides which it possesses the advantage of (comparatively) easy communication with the inland districts, both to the northward and southward, and has a considerable extent of cultivable land in its immediate vicinity, with varied soils, and a climate favourable to agricultural pursuits. In consequence of the dispersion of the European immigrants over various scattered settlements, several hundred miles apart, founded one after another with the most complete disregard of the welfare of the settlers, Auckland has not advanced as rapidly as the capitals of other British colonies in the southern hemi-

* A large number of kauri trees may be seen lying at the bottom of the lake.

† For description of these harbours, *vide* description of coast line, pp. 262 and 270.

sphere, where the formation of new townships has been necessarily preceded by a certain amount of concentration and progress in those already established.

The site of the city is an undulating, open space of fern land fronting the sea beach, two or three miles distant from the heads of the Waitemata Channel, and stretches along two small curves called *Official* and *Mechanics' Bays*, divided by a low ridge, whose summit affords much varied scenery, while its slopes offer numerous pleasant spots for suburban residences. Official Bay contains the dwellings of many of the better class of inhabitants, such as government officers and merchants; and situated as these houses are in luxuriant gardens ornamenting the steep sides of the descent to the water, they present a charming appearance. In Mechanics' Bay the houses are of an inferior description, and are occupied by shipwrights, fishermen, and labourers. Many native canoes enter this bay on their arrival from the Thames and Coromandel Harbour, and the landing from them is often an animated and cheerful scene.*

*St. Paul's Church*, a brick building in the early English style, with a tower and spire, is one of the first objects which meets the eye on entering the port. Although only opened for divine service in May, 1843, and erected at a cost of £4,000, some portions of the walls have been already much damaged by the weather, in consequence of the unsoundness of the bricks of which it was constructed. At some distance from it, adjoining the house of Chief Justice Martin, stands the *Chapel of St. Stephen*, which having been built of unsound stone, is now dismantled, and enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the first European ruin in New Zealand. The churchyard is consecrated, and is still used as a private burial ground.†

The Wesleyans have erected a very neat place of worship, the Roman Catholics have also a chapel, and in and around a picturesque glen outside the city are situated cemeteries appropriated respectively to members of the Church of England, Presbyterians, Dissenting congregations, members of the Church of Rome, and Jews. The range already described as separating the two bays on which the city is chiefly laid out, terminates in a cliff, perpendicular on two sides towards the sea, on the top of which are the barracks, built of scoriæ, and surrounded by a lofty stone wall. The old *Government House*—a long wooden building with gable-roofs, and trellises covered with clematis and a variety of beautiful flowers—stood on a spacious lawn, overlooking the picturesque islands of Hauraki Gulf: it was burnt down about two years ago, and has not yet been rebuilt.

Among the buildings and associations of Auckland may be noticed a Bank, Mechanics' Institute, a Museum, Lecture-room, and Library, an Agricultural Society—which issues useful reports on the best modes of cultivating various soils, and the products for which they are particularly adapted,—a Total Abstinence Society, and Masonic and Odd Fellows' Lodges.

Besides the public structures there are good private houses, and the shops in *Shortland Crescent*, which is situated on the slope of a hill leading to St. Paul's Church, are very creditable to the colony. Queen-street is wide and airy, but the thoroughfares generally are narrow and crowded. The roads are made of scoriæ, an excellent building material—especially adapted for their construction—which is found in great abundance in the vicinity of the numerous extinct volcanoes scattered over the gently undulating and very fertile table land that extends between Waitemata and the harbour of Manukao. These flat-topped craters vary in height from 100 to 300 or 400 feet, and have a very singular appearance when viewed from the anchorage, rising abruptly one above another in the back ground of the city. The most prominent of them, *Maungawao* or *Mount Eden* has an elevation of 500 feet, with a funnel-shaped and remarkably perfect crater, the interior of which is about 150 feet deep, and is overgrown with short fern. The outer surface of the cone has the peculiarly terraced appearance which characterizes all those in its vicinity, and evidences the flowing of the masses of ejected lava in one direction; the base is strewn with blocks of scoriæ, while the surrounding soil consists of the richest black vegetable mould.‡

*St. John's College* was originally established at the Waimate near the Bay oı Islands, but in 1844 it was removed to its present position on the banks of the Tamaki

* *Savage Life and Scenes*, by G. F. Angas, vol. i., p. 288.

† Journal of Bishop Selwyn, part v., pp. 4 and 5.

‡ Angas, vol. i., p. 284. Dieffenbach notes the similarity of these craters with those of the Ameerque, which, however, they surpass in the preserva tion and regularity of their funnel-shaped cones.—Vol. i. p. 290.

inlet, four miles from Auckland. This excellent and truly christian institution is designed by bishop Selwyn to answer three important ends, namely, to afford, first,—a place of religious and useful education for all classes of the community, and especially to candidates for holy orders; secondly,—a temporary hostelry for young settlers on their first arrival in the country; and thirdly,—a refuge for the sick, the aged, and the poor. The college estate, comprising 850 acres, stretches from the sea to the Auckland road in a north and south line, and to the eastward as far as the waters of the Tamaki. The plan of the college itself, in accordance with the various purposes which it is intended to fulfil, is on a large and comprehensive scale; but the failure of contractors, the distressed state of the colony, and more recently the high price of masonic and other labour caused by the works in progress in the Royal Engineers' department, and at the pensioners' villages, have prevented the completion of the structure. At present a large stone building with sixteen rooms accommodates the bishop, the English school and master, contains the diocesan library, and furnishes quarters for the reception of visitors.

Another substantial edifice serves for refectory, common hall, and kitchen; the remaining buildings are of a temporary character, among them is a commodious hospital built of wood with a stone foundation; adjoining it is a neat chapel, also of wood on a stone basement, with a burial ground annexed. Beyond the chapel and burial ground is the collegiate Maori school, contiguous thereto is the parochial day school: the college printing-office is near the main structure. Apart from all these is the secular portion of the establishment, comprising a barn, dairy, carpenter's shop, stable, and rickyard, &c., with the various appurtenances belonging to a thriving farming establishment, which is carried on by the members of the institution, on whose minds the apostolic injunction, he who will not work, neither shall he eat, is most judiciously inculcated. A large part of the tillage is carried on by spade husbandry, and probably by this time the edible wants of the inmates of the establishment are supplied by their own exertions.

The college occupies a commanding position on a volcanic hill; and the estate has three distinct frontages to navigable waters on a line of beach of eight miles between the two extremes. Following the system of English ecclesiastical polity practised in the olden time, the bishop has established seven chapelries in the neighbouring hamlets which have each their temple of worship constructed of stone or of wood, and they are under the charge of the ordained members of the collegiate body. One of these chapelries comprises *Howick*, the chief settlement of the military pensioners sent from England, which is situated about five miles from the college on the opposite bank of the Tamaki. A very few years ago the site of Howick was a " cattle run," now it is occupied by a populous township, laid out in military order, with neat cottages, gardens, and cultivated grounds; its church spire rising from a gentle eminence overlooking the beach to the northward, and the range of the fertile Tamaki valley to the south. Here in this sylvan scene, and amidst the pleasing labours of rural industry, the veterans who have spent youth and manhood in the acquisition and protection of the wide spread domains of England, have turned their swords into ploughshares, and through the benevolence of their sovereign, and the generous statesmanship of Earl Grey, have found a peaceful asylum for their old age.

Among the numerous villages, both native and European, in the neighbourhood of the capital, may be mentioned the Maori settlement of Orakai, situated on the banks of a deep and well-sheltered bay near the mouth of the Waitemata harbour, and established by a remnant of the Nga-ti-watua tribe, who cultivate the land around, and send potatoes, maize, fruits, and other vegetable supplies, and fire-wood, to Auckland, in exchange for British manufactures. By means of this traffic they have amassed considerable sums of money.

The scenery between Auckland and Orakai, a distance of six miles by land, and about two by water, is varied and pleasing; the road lies round the head of several deep bays.

*Auckland district* is, generally speaking, an undulating country, with table-lands and corresponding valleys; the shores of the estuaries of the Waitemata, the Manukao, and part of the Hauraki gulf, present a succession of argillaceous sandstone cliffs of different heights, with intervening bays receding inland. The country lying between these great estuaries varies in breadth from fifteen to three miles, and at the portage of the Tamaki diminishes only three-fourths of a mile, and affords over its

surface flats of considerable extent, and declivities available for agriculture, the bottoms always occupied by small streams, generally bare of wood, or covered with patches of small-sized trees, suitable for fuel or fencing, and rising in gentle elevations to the mountain ranges to the west and south, which are of a different geological formation, and are usually covered with gigantic trees.

The country between Auckland and the range of mountains west of the Piako river consists generally of level ground, with many pretty and fertile tracts, especially along the valley of the Tamaki, whose embouchure lies a few miles east of the Waitemata Heads, where many settlers have established themselves. About five miles from the mouth of the river or inlet, (as it is frequently and justly called,) on the left bank, is a creek of great depth, leading into a small and beautiful bay, close at the foot of a high volcanic mountain, named by the Maories *Mogia*, by the English *Wellington*. Here are to be seen the remains of extensive fortifications, &c.; as also at Mount Eden, and the ruins of a very large pah, with widely spread cultivable grounds around. About thirty years ago this locality was the scene of a sanguinary battle, in which 7,000 natives were slain, fought between the tribes from the north, aided by the Waikato and Nga-te-Whatua chiefs, and those of the Tamaki and Thames districts, when the people of the latter were either entirely killed, or carried into slavery.* Indeed the whole of this neighbourhood bears unmistakeable evidence of having been once thickly peopled by a warlike race, in the remains of extensive entrenchments still to be seen around the natural fortifications formed by the craters; in the great stone ovens, and other significant circumstances.

The land immediately around the extinct volcanoes is covered with loose fragments of vesicular lava and scoriæ, or immense masses of more compact lava, cropping out at various points, with a variety of shrubs and trees springing up among the interstices.

With regard to the capabilities of the Auckland district, it may be said, that about one-half, consisting of undulating ground, is covered with fern and various shrubs, (chiefly the tupaki,) and possesses a soil of a rich yellow clay, mixed with sand and charred vegetable matter. One fourth presents a more level surface, and is covered with dwarf manuka, fern, and a variety of small shrubs and tufts of grass; it has a poor soil, consisting of a whitish clay, mixed with sand. The remaining fourth is generally of a varied surface, being situated near the volcanic hills, composed of a dry, red, volcanic formation to a great depth, for the most part covered with scoriæ; but when this latter is only on the surface, there is a rich red loam of high fertility.

With the exception of the volcanic land, the tract of country above described is well irrigated by natural streams, and water can be procured at all times in abundance by means of wells. The banks of the fresh water creeks are covered with evergreens and tree ferns, growing on a friable clay, mixed with ferruginous sand.†

Before passing from the vicinity of the Capital we may remark upon the valuable inland streams which approach within short distances of it, and the numerous harbours, creeks, and coves which indent its shores, and promise to render it the centre of an extensive coasting trade, as colonization extends at the adjacent favourable points. Bishop Selwyn writes enthusiastically on the advantages of its position, declaring that—

> "Auckland is admirably fitted for the residence of a maritime nation. Almost every settler has the sea brought conveniently to his door, or at least close to him by one or other of those long fingers of the great estuaries which almost insulate the town and its suburban district: * * * As there never was a maritime people that did not become great and powerful, in spite of the present failure of exports and other commercial difficulties, my faith is still as strong as ever that New Zealand will be a great country, and that it is our duty to strive, as God may give us strength, that it may be as good as it will be great. Look at the position of Auckland, and judge whether it may not justly be called the Corinth of the south."‡

The country to the northward of the Auckland district, is of such an irregular form, so deeply indented by arms of the sea, and so diversified on the surface, that it may be necessary to give a general view of the whole, before noticing some of the more prominent places on which Europeans or Maories are located.

* Terry's *New Zealand*, p. 37.

† *Vide* First Annual Report of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Auckland. 1843.

‡ Journal of the bishop's visitation tour throughout his diocese in 1848, p. 30.

Throughout the greater part of the Peninsula, two hilly ranges, of no great altitude, pass along either shore: they are broken in their outline by several harbours, and send out transverse ridges, which encircle or support narrow table lands, and are intersected by numerous valleys and watercourses. Of these steep, fern-clad spurs, the highest extends from Wangaroa across to Hokianga; another, less elevated, commences at Cape Rakau-manga, or Cape Brett, and passes towards Mount Manganui, separating the valley of the Waima from that of the Wairoa.

The intervals between these ranges and hills are numerous and picturesque: the valley where the Kaihu joins the Wairoa, from the westward, near the extensive native settlement of Mangakahia, is nearly a perfect level, with an extent, from east to west, of about twenty-five miles, and from north to south, of eight, the whole sufficiently elevated above the bed of the Wairoa to secure it from destructive inundations. The Maories consider this one of the richest tracts in the peninsula. The valley is bounded by extensive kauri forests, and the hills are clothed with wood to their highest elevation of about 2,000 feet. Proceeding to the southward, the valley contracts, the east side presenting an extensive flat, covered with rank vegetation, while the west exhibits a gradual and heavily-timbered slope.*

The strip of land between the western range and the coast, from the Auckland district to Cape Maria Van Diemen, has a breadth in few places exceeding four or five miles, and is more or less barren throughout its whole length: that included between the eastern ridge and the shore, as far to the northward as Wangari Harbour, consists of a succession of rugged hills, covered with light fern, and broken by deep swampy hollows, in which the *phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, delights. This tract is destitute of timber, and in some parts of water, and presents a desolate, uninviting aspect.

The country situated between these ridges is of a more promising character, although abrupt hills, covered with high fern, or a hard clayey stratum, over sandstone—plains with a poor, thin, sandy soil, and extensive swamps, are described as grievously encroaching upon its cultivable area.† It is watered by the numerous streams which disembogue in the large arm of the sea, named Kaipara Harbour, on whose shores several native villages are situated: European settlers have likewise located themselves here, attracted by the two-fold and rare advantage of excellent agricultural land, and an abundance of the finest timber. The tributaries of the Kaipara have more alluvial land on their borders than is usual in New Zealand: hills, of no very great height, bound, but do not generally reach them, and are often more than a mile distant; the banks are level, and consist of a somewhat clayey and fertile soil. The Wairoa continually carries down a quantity of this soil from the higher to the lower parts of the river, in consequence of which its waters have a yellowish appearance. There are several stations on this river. That of Mr. Forsyth, on the western bank, about sixty miles from the sea, is an agricultural farm: twelve miles higher up is the extensive sawing establishment of Mr. Stevenson, reputed to be one of the most enterprising settlers in New Zealand. In 1842, he launched a schooner, of eighty tons burthen, from a creek near his premises. Twenty-five miles above Mr. Stevenson's is a village, called Hobson's Town, where several European families have made considerable progress in clearing, and built some substantial houses. Fifteen miles beyond this is a Wesleyan mission station. European settlers are scattered in different localities, and have raised good crops on their cleared lands.

The banks of the Wairoa, with the exception of such portions as are of very recent formation, and of those which have been cleared, are covered with a thick forest of timber of all descriptions, but especially of the kauri pine, which is here of remarkable height and diameter, of easy access, and in great abundance.

Large quantities of this valuable tree have, however, been destroyed, and the low, steep hills between the Waiomio valley and the point at which the Wairoa first begins to be navigable for large boats, are now nearly covered with fern and manuka, with here and there the remains of the former kauri forest, half burnt and rotten. The hills alternate with swampy valleys, with occasional forests of the kahitakea

* "A brief Survey of the Northern Districts of New Zealand." Published in Simmonds' *Colonial Magazine*.—May, 1844, signed W. H. S.

† Polack. Vol. i., p. 200.

pine (*Dacrydium excelsum*). A swampy plain stretches to the eastward as far as the rugged hills of Wangari Bay; this plain Dr. Dieffenbach says, offers some fine situations for farms, and would afford excellent opportunities for forming pasturage by the cultivation of artificial grasses, as the land is rich, and the swampy parts might easily be drained. The valley of the Wangari, on the opposite and eastern coast, is far more contracted, and much shorter than that of the Wairoa; its hills, which are for the most part well timbered, generally rise abruptly from the river's edge, leaving, at intervals, limited tracts of level land. There are, however, between four and five hundred European settlers located in favourable spots.

To the northward of the Wangari, lies the early seat of colonization in New Zealand—the *Bay of Islands*. This district consists chiefly of steep hills, but the valley through which flows the Kawa-kawa (an arm of the sea stretching to the southward, and receiving a small fresh-water stream,) has a considerable extent of excellent land. The inlet, which has the aspect of a broad river, is bounded, on either side, by wooded hills, in several of whose nooks the dwellings and cultivations of the settlers and their farm-yards, stocked with fowls, geese, and ducks, have contributed to form very homely English-looking scenery; there are also numerous and extensive plantations in the hands of the aborigines.

*Kororarika*, or *Russell*, is situated at the commencement of the Kawa-kawa inlet, on a narrow, elongated, tongue of land stretching out into the centre of the Bay of Islands. It stands on a flat of some two or three hundred acres, surrounded by a ridge of hills, which obstruct its communication with the interior, and to a great extent neutralize the advantages offered by its great facilities for shipping. The whole town was burned to the ground by Heke and his followers, in the autumn of 1845, excepting only the two places of worship (church of England and Roman catholic), and the houses of the clergy. It is now partially rebuilt, but still wears a very dreary appearance. Kororarika is the head quarters of the Jesuit mission; "a conspicuous ill-planned building, which stands on a rise of a hill behind the flat occupied by the town, is the catholic chapel of Bishop Pompallier.*"

*Paihia*, the settlement of the Church Missionary Society, was established as early as 1823, by Archdeacon Henry Williams, the first clergyman appointed to the New Zealand mission. It is situated on the opposite shore of the inlet on which Russell stands, about three miles distant, and is described as a lovely spot,—a little oasis nestled at the foot of high fern hills, comprising about a dozen neat dwellings, almost embowered in green, and surrounded by gardens in which the loquat and other fruits thrive beneath the mild climate of this sheltered locality.†

Further to the northward is Mr. Busby's estate, termed Victoria, near the mouth of the Waitangi river. This tract possesses several requisites for the site of a town, for which it was at one period intended, being level, and of considerable fertility, commanding the Waimate table land, and therefore the best communication with the interior, as well as with the districts lying to the northward. It has, however, no place for the anchorage of vessels, and is open to the whole force of the north-easterly winds.

The little district of Puki-tuna, in the Waitangi Valley, surrounded by clayey fern-clad hills, has all the appearance of a garden. The soil rests on a bed of decomposed lava; is traversed in various directions by streamlets, and yields a greater variety and abundance of herbaceous vegetation than is usually met with in New Zealand. Owing to the light and porous structure of the lava, there is a resonance from the footsteps similar to the noise made by walking over a wooden bridge or causeway. A fine stream, whose banks are overshadowed by lofty trees, arborescent ferns, and cabbage palms, is separated by a low ridge from an adjacent fertile plain.‡

About fifteen miles to the westward of the Bay of Islands is *Waimate*, the agricultural station of the Church Missionary Society, which was formed in 1830, with a view to render the mission independent of New South Wales for its supply of provisions. The whole work of this settlement was done by the natives, under the superintendence of the missionaries, Messrs. Clarke, Davis, and Hamlin. Upwards of 50,000 bricks were made and burnt for building chimneys; 700,000 feet of timber were felled; three weather-board houses were erected, with stalling for twelve or fourteen

* Angas, vol. ii., p. 173. † *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 169.

‡ Jameson, p. 247.

horses: stores, work-shops, and ultimately a neat chapel, capable of holding 300 to 400 persons. The introduction of ploughs and harrows, all made at the Waimate, constituted an era in the history of the country. Till these implements were introduced, the Maories little knew what their land was capable of producing; as but very small portions were brought under cultivation, owing to the great difficulty of breaking it up with the hoe or the spade.* Owing to the diligent labour of the natives, the settlement presents the aspect of a thriving English village; the houses are commodious, and of a pleasing appearance, each surrounded by a verandah, with a lawn and garden plot in front. They form a row about a mile in length, and are inclosed within a strong wooden fence, tastefully interwoven with rose-bushes and creepers. The enclosed and unbuilt on ground is laid out in productive gardens and rich clover paddocks. Besides the houses occupied by the missionaries and their families, there are numerous cottages belonging to sawyers, tradesmen, and agriculturists attached to the mission, with their wives and families, and there is a large Maori village. At one end of the settlement stands the church, at the other, a water flour-mill.

The table land on which the settlement is situated, is described as having a length of about three miles, by a breadth of one, with an elevation of 500 feet above the sea. This tract is very deficient in timber, and the climate is so bleak, that it is with difficulty that the more delicate English fruits are brought to perfection.† Dieffenbach describes the soil, as a light, dusty volcanic earth.

There are several conical craters in the vicinity of the station, all of which are covered with vegetation in the interior, and appear to have long been in a state of repose. The two most remarkable are those of Pouerua and Pukenui; they are isolated, and of a truncated form.

Some miles from Waimate is a lake about one mile in circumference, whose banks are covered with efflorations of pure sulphur; at a little distance is a smaller lake, close to which are some curious thermal springs. One of these is strongly aluminous, and has a temperature of 62° Fah.; a few feet from it is a tepid spring of a milk-white colour and alkaline taste, temperature 124° Fah.; a third is acidulous, temperature 154° Fah.; while from another rises strong sulphuretted hydrogen gas of the temperature of 133°, that of the surrounding air being 80° Fah.‡ Some of the waters are said to contain sulphur in a state of oxygenation, approximating to that of vitriol, and to stain and burn a pocket handkerchief. The springs are frequently resorted to by the Maories for the cure of cutaneous, scrofulous, and other diseases, and much benefit is obtained from bathing in the medicated waters.

The surrounding country, especially to the southward, has the arid and desolate aspect which characterizes the neighbourhood of mineral waters; the uniform brown tint of the stunted fern on the hills, is only occasionally varied by sheltered groves in the ravines. Even the argillaceous rock is altered by the gaseous emanations of sulphuric acid, parts have become white and red, while other portions have been changed into a species of clay covered with sublimations of pure alum, sulphur, and different sulphates.

The country between the Waimate and the mission station on the Keri-Keri river, a distance of seven miles, is of inferior quality, but higher up on the banks of that stream the soil improves considerably. In 1819, Mr. Butler and Mr. Kemp were established at the Keri-Keri on behalf of the Church Mission Society, on a beautiful spot situated at the confluence of the tide with the fresh water. The river is navigable to within four miles of the station by vessels of 150 tons, and by small craft to the wharfs and capacious public store erected by the missionaries. Below the settlement on the banks of this stream the basis of the soil is basaltic, and the river rolls over a bed of lava, forms no valley, and is destitute of timber; it seems as if an immense crust of basalt had been elevated nearly to the surface. The estuary, which has the appearance of a broad river, presents some fine sites for farming establishments. To the northward of Keri-Keri, as far as Wangaroa, the land is mostly hilly, covered with primitive forest; but near the coast the whole forest has been destroyed. Between Wangaroa and Tauranga there is a beautiful and fertile valley, sheltered by the coast hills from the ocean winds, and irrigated by a small river which flows in Wangaroa harbour. An extensive table-land,

* *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand:* 1847. pp. 12, 13.

† *Brief Survey*, p. 36.
‡ Dieffenbach. Vol. i., p. 245.

varying in elevation from two to three hundred feet above the sea, lies to the south-east of the Waimate district, intersected by the Waiaruhe, one of the sources of the Waitangi, whose waters roll over a bed of lava without forming any valley, and occasionally flood the adjacent country. At the extremity is Pakaraka, the property of the sons of Archdeacon Henry Williams, where there is a considerable extent of land under cultivation.

The vicinity of Hokianga, on the western coast, presents a marked contrast to the country in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, which has no forests, and but few large trees, being surrounded on all sides by steep kauri-clad hills.

To the southward is the valley of the Waima, which has a breadth of from three to ten miles, and is intersected by the numerous tributaries which flow into the river from the hills on the east side. One of these streams rushes down with great fury for about a mile, and then, in its rapid descent over a precipice of 300 feet, forms a transparent arch, and falls in heavy rain into a kauri glen beneath.

The hills around are generally well wooded, and a fertile flat extending on both sides of the Waima for twenty miles, renders it one of the finest spots in the Hokianga district, and has induced the formation of several European stations. About fifteen miles from the head of Hokianga harbour, the country is open to the Bay of Islands; intermediate between the east and west coasts is the plain of Kaikohe, which contains an area of about twenty-five square miles, and is 800 feet above the sea; it is crossed by numerous streamlets, some flowing westerly pass between the hills, and join the Waima, while others running southerly contribute to form the sources of the Waitangi.

To the northward of Hokianga, and thence to Wangaroa, the country for the most part consists of high ground, broken by innumerable ravines, through each of which a stream of water flows: it contains an immense forest of valuable trees, upon whose outskirts, to the northward, is a fine plain, on which are situated the settlements of Mangonui and Kaitaia.

*Kaitaia* is within eight miles of the coast; it stands on an eminence commanding a view of the whole district, of which it is the centre. The village, with its church and steeple, its gardens and roses before the houses its fields of wheat alternating with vines and hops, various fruit-trees and vegetables, and herds of well-fed cattle and horses, afford unmistakeable evidence of industry and plenty. On the east is a vast plain, with a dark forest in the middle, stretching out towards the flat marshy estuary of the Awanui river, and terminating in a sandy bay; to the northward a bright line of sand marks the district of Muriwenua, or Land's End, which reaches to the North Cape; on the westward, the wooded range of Maunga-Taniwa bridges the whole inland country between Kaitaia and the Waimate.

The valley of the Awanui, or Awaroa, (on which Kaitaia is situated,) is estimated to contain not less than 120,000 acres of arable land; and in respect of the quality of the soil, facility of cultivation, as well as of water communication, abundance of excellent wood and other building materials, this district would seem to be highly favoured.

The country in the vicinity of the river near its embouche, consists chiefly of mangrove swamps; farther up the stream the banks are higher, and the land perfectly level and open, the soil consisting, in some places, of a stiff black loam,—in others, of a lighter earth, to all appearance admirably adapted for grain. Proceeding onward, the scenery becomes very charming, presenting fields of varied cultivation, well-stocked farm-yards, and natural paddocks formed by the serpentine course of the river.* As the stream is ascended it acquires a greater fall and becomes obstructed by snags; the banks are of the same fertile character until Kaitaia is reached; beyond that point it is only navigable by canoes. The hills which stretch from Kaitaia through the interior are wooded and partially covered with Kauri forests. From the settlement to the western coast the land is excellent.

About two miles to the northward there is a small fresh-water lake containing large eels, two kinds of small fish, and craw-fish.

The Maories in the neighbourhood of the valley of the Awanui, or Awaroa, (a tribe of Rarawa,) have greatly advanced in civilization through the labours of the missionaries; they have cut and made various roads, one of which, through the primitive forest, from Kaitaia to the Waimate, is thirty-two miles in length.

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 214.

To the northward of *Wara, Waro,* or *Ahipara,* a native settlement situated a few miles to the westward of Kaitaia, low ridges run parallel to the sea coast, small creeks flowing between them, on the borders of which is a light soil eagerly sought for by the natives for the cultivation of the esculent root, kumera. On one of these creeks (the Wai-mimi,) there is an extensive bed of lignite. Further north commences the long narrow neck of sand which extends to within about eight miles of the northern extremity of New Zealand, when the land rises and forms the bold precipices of Maunganui headland, offering but one valley of small extent, termed the Reinga, and no cultivable land worth mention.

Leaving the northern peninsula, we proceed to notice the country south of Auckland, in which the marked feature of continuous coast ranges is still observable; these, with their collateral buttresses, frequently serve to uphold more or less elevated table-lands of varying, but generally limited extent, from whence spring the highest mountains in the island. Intermediate between the parallel coast ridges flow the rivers Thames and Piako, on the eastward, and the Waikato and Waipa, on the westward; each receiving numerous tributaries from broken rocky mountains during their courses, and irrigating large tracts of valuable country. The Thames and Piako, although entirely unconnected with each other, have their embouchures close together at the head of the deep inlet called Hauraki Gulf, or the Frith of Thames (see p. 263), and flow in nearly parallel courses through the most extensive table-land in the Northern Island, which, commencing at the sea coast, has an average breadth of about twenty miles, and stretches between two elevated hilly ranges which approach occasionally in altitude to mountains, as far as Lake Rotorua, a distance of about a hundred miles.

The probable capabilities of this district have been much dwelt upon. Dieffenbach numbers among the advantages of Auckland, that its port is the natural outlet for the extensive agricultural valley formed by the Thames and Piako (those rivers having no harbour for ships), and says that with the exception of the immediate banks, where the kahikatea pine grows to great perfection, the whole valley is occupied by fern, flax, and manuka. This vegetation is interrupted by large raupo (typha) swamps, which increase toward the mouth of rivers where the country is low and subject to inundations, but offer facilities for easy and effective drainage. This remark applies especially to the flat and swampy land in the vicinity of the lower part of the Piako; farther up, the shores of this river are overgrown with brushwood; still ascending, the banks become higher and slightly wooded, and patches of forest, alternate with open spaces covered with soft grass. During one portion of its course, the Piako is closely bounded, to the westward, by hills of amygdaloidal basalt, having on their surface a white exhausted clay. Wood is only here found in some small valleys and ravines; amongst the trees are some kauri pine, but these are scarce.*

Another observant traveller† has recorded a somewhat similar and equally favourable opinion, stating, that although in the lower part of the great valley of the Thames the soil is too little elevated above the mean level of the tides, and being of a clayey character, is in many parts swampy; yet, as the river is ascended, this defect gradually diminishes, and at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth (to which point it is navigable for steam-boats,) the plain becomes dry, and in many places is so unincumbered, as to be absolutely ready for the plough. In one portion of its course the Thames is skirted by belts of wood, including some timber of great size and value, alternating with extensive tracts of the flax plant, and with spaces overgrown with ferns, myrtles, grasses, and cabbage-palms. In several tracts formerly under Maori cultivation, grass is found in considerable abundance. Dr. Martin describes the soil of the greater part of the valley as a diluvial deposit of clay and earth, with a layer of vegetable mould on the top apparently admirably adapted for the growth of wheat.‡

In opposition to the above opinions, the New Zealand Company, in their exclusive advocacy of their own settlements, and unscrupulous depreciation of every district in any manner connected with Auckland, have taken pains to disseminate the assertion of Mr. Bidwell, that "fully one-half of the plain of the Waiho (Thames), is an impassable bog, covered with high rushes, the largest remaining portion, poor fern land,

* Dieffenbach vol. i., pp. 276, 415.

† Jameson, pp. 311 312.

‡ *New Zealand*, p. 73.

and there is a considerable portion of wet stony land, covered with rank vegetation, without bushes." (Vide *Rambles in New Zealand*, p. 91.) This description is certainly not an attractive one, yet we find in another page, the writer declaring this very spot to be "one of the most splendid situations for a colony that could be found in the whole world," (p. 73.)*

The Thames district is very thinly populated. Near the entrance of the river is a station of the Church Missionary Society, occupying a most picturesque position on the slope of the eastern mountains, which are crowned by a forest of lofty trees. An arm of the sea, which is joined by a creek, (the Wawakauranga,) bathes the foot of the hills where the buildings stand; a fertile alluvial flat spreads along its left shore, on which there is a large native settlement. About thirty miles from the sea, at the spot where the influence of the tide ceases, is the native village of Opita.

*Mata-Mata*, an ancient, extensive, and strongly fortified pah, is situated on the right bank of the Waitoa (the main branch of the Piako,) and is remarkable for a spacious church, erected solely by the natives. The area is eighty feet by forty; internally it is supported by two well-finished columns, and lined with fern stalks placed close together, and intertwined with stripes of split wood. The tomb of the principal chief, who died about ten years ago, is described as being an exquisite piece of sculpture; some of the houses also are finely carved. The soil round Mata-Mata is very fertile, and well adapted for the cultivation of grain,† which is grown to a small extent by the Maories.

The opposite or eastern side of that portion of the island now under examination, is chiefly occupied by the valleys of the Waikato and Waipa, and those of their tributary streams, of which a general description has been previously given (p. 270). There being but few European stations in this district, and the number of resident missionaries limited, we are not acquainted with more than its leading features.

When the Waikato—the longest river in New Zealand—issues from Lake Taupo, it emerges on a country which, though highly interesting to the geologist, offers little inducement to the immigrant, being broken into hillocks composed of tufa or lapilli, and pumice fossils, cemented together by volcanic ashes, and most irregularly dispersed over the perfectly flat surface of the original table land. The level country, consisting of the same materials as the hills, being as yet but little decomposed, nourishes only a stunted vegetation of low fern, and a coarse, discoloured grass, excepting in the vicinity of the numerous water-courses, where the soil is better, and bears a good many shrubs. Where the Waipapa, a deep mountain tributary, joins the Waikato, from the hilly, and occasionally forest-clad ridge, which bounds it on the westward, the river, here about forty yards wide, presents a very wild scene, losing itself in successive falls in a deep fissure, which it has corroded out of the solid rock. The surface of the surrounding country, in some places, forms regular basins, while craggy, castle-like formations of rock—often lined with a shrub (*metrosideros hypericifolia*), with small myrtle-like leaves, which fixes its tendrils firmly to the rock, in the same manner as the ivy does—crown the hills. Here and there a solitary dragon-tree varies the scanty vegetation of this dreary region, which extends as far to the northward as the Maunga-Tautari range.‡ Between this point and the embouchure of the river there are many fertile tracts, occupied by native plantations. Kaitote pah, the residence of Te Whero-Whero, the principal chief of all the Waikato tribes, is situated on the right bank of the Waikato, a few miles after its junction with the Waipa. It consists of an open quadrangle, with houses ranged on either side, the whole surrounded by a lofty wooden palisade, with an entrance at each end. At one end of the pah is a chapel, built of *tohi-tohi* grass. At a little distance are several neat Christian graves, around which are planted tufts of the white and blue iris.

Taupiri Mountain rises on the opposite bank of the river. The conical sides of this ancient land-mark are clothed with

* The truth is, Mr. Bidwill's "Notes," bear the stamp of hasty, though clever, writing, and contain several incorrect and contradictory statements; for instance, he speaks of the Hutt (Port Nicholson), a stream of only a few miles long, as a navigable river, equally useful with the Thames; and after stating in one place (p. 74), that "nothing would be easier than to drain the plain of the Thames, which ought to be done at a very trifling expense, as there are deep water-courses running through the plain in all directions, much lower than the marshy spots," he affirms in another (p. 90), that "the swampy lands of the Waiho (Thames) will cost almost as much to drain as heavy timbered land to clear.

† Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 413.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 321.

thick forests and steep wooded hills, on one of which is the site of an ancient fortification, descend towards the stream. A large extent of country is visible from the summit of Taupiri, including no less than seven fresh-water lakes: that of Waikari is remarkable for having a salt stream running through it, in which the sea-fish called *kanæ* are caught, although they are not found in other parts of the lake. Waikari has a communication with the Waikato, in which an occasional stray *kanæ*, from the salt stream of the lake, is now and then found.

The land around Kaitote—formerly the scene of many a desperate fight, followed by the demoniac orgies of cannibalism—has always been of great value in the eyes of the natives, on account of its fine *kumera* grounds: they now employ it in the cultivation of potatoes, Indian corn, and occasionally wheat. About two miles from the village of Te Whero-Whero is Pepe, a station of the Church Missionary Society, which is thus described by Mr. Angas:—"At a bend of the river, the romantic cottage of the missionary (Mr. Ashwell) suddenly appeared in view. It was as lovely and secluded a spot as it is possible to imagine. The little cottage, built of *raupo*, with its white chimneys and its garden full of flowers—of sweet English flowers—roses, stocks, and mignonnette, was snugly perched on an elevated plateau, overhanging the Waikato, and the access to it was by a small bridge thrown across a glen of tree ferns, with a stream murmuring below." *

The coast hills between the Waikato and the harbour of Wangaroa or Waingaroa separate the waters of the Waipa from the streams which flow directly to the western shore. These hills have an easy slope both towards the plains of the Waipa and towards the sea coast. They are lowest at the Wai-te-Tuna river, which flows from the eastward, where communication with the interior is most easily established. The most populous settlement of the Waikato tribes, is situated near the Wesleyan mission station on the southern shore of Wangaroa Harbour; the northern is partially occupied by European settlers, the land, both forest and agricultural in this neighbourhood, is excellent.†

The Waipa is a deep and placid stream, meandering through a broad and fertile valley, whose peculiar advantages with respect to soil and climate, have been previously stated (p. 270). At the lower part of the valley, there is very little slope in the land; the river banks consist of a stiff loamy earth with layers of sand, but without any fragments of rock, and the surrounding country is of the most promising description for the growth of grain. Higher up the stream, steep wooded hills sloping down to the water's edge, occasionally alternate with extensive native plantations, which attest the great neatness and skill of the native cultivators; and the general level of the valley is interrupted by a few isolated pyramidical hills of volcanic origin, of which arms consisting of tufa and pumice stone, run off in all directions, often presenting cliffy escarpments on the sides.

The mission-station of *Otawhao* is situated on the banks of a small tributary of the Waipa; around it are numerous dispersed and fortified villages belonging to several distinct tribes, all of whom are comprehended under the general name of Waikato. One of these, named Raroera, formerly a very fine pah, but now almost in ruins, contains the most remarkable relic in New Zealand, a *papa tupapakau*, or mausoleum, erected by Te Whero-Whero, in honour of his favourite daughter. This extraordinary monument was entirely carved by one individual, a lame man, named Parinui, whose only tool was the head of an old bayonet. The tomb is about twelve feet high, in the form of a box, with a projecting roof, supported by grotesque figures. The carving is exceedingly rich; the eyes of the figures are formed of *pawa*, or pearl shells (*haliotis*), and the feathers of the *kaka* and the albatross decorate the seams of the wood work. Near the mission-house of Otawhao, is another ancient structure, described by Angas as one of the finest remains of Maori ornamental architecture still extant. It is called Maketu house, and was erected by a chief named Puata,‡ in commemoration of the

* Vol. ii., p. 42.

† Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 306.

‡ Puata was the principal chief and the greatest warrior of his tribe; until his last illness he had contemptuously rejected the doctrines of Christianity. During that time he was visited by Mr. Morgan (the zealous missionary of Otawhao), who, after considerable difficulty, persuaded him to take medicine instead of trusting to the sorcery and charms of the heathen tohungas, and so reasoned with the chief that he embraced the religion he had once despised—had a school established within the pah; and as he lay sick, was accustomed to call his tribe round him and hold morning and evening prayers. In this state he lingered several months; his last words to his people were, "Receive the word of God, and hold fast on Jesus Christ."—Angas, vol. ii., p. 150.

taking of Maketu, on the east coast, by the people of his tribe; around the roof are a number of savage figures carved in wood, and intended to represent the various warriors engaged in the battle, all of whom have their tongues protruding, as a mark of the extreme defiance with which they regarded their enemies. The chapel at Otawhao, a commodious structure, which measures eighty-six feet by forty-two, was built solely by the Maories. Angas gives the following interesting description of the circumstances of its erection:—

"The ridge pole, a single tree-stem, eighty-six feet in length, was dragged by the natives from the woods a distance of three miles; and all the other timber was likewise conveyed by them from a similar distance. The rafters are all detached, and most of the wood work is fastened together with flax; the sides are beautifully worked with fern stalks, tied together in cross-stitch with *aka*, a species of wild climber, which gives to it a rich and finished appearance. The entire design originated with the natives, who formed this spacious building without rule or scale, and with no other tools than their adzes, a few chisels, and a couple of saws. After the erection of the frame work the season was so far advanced, that fearing they should not be able to complete it in time, the Otawhao people requested a party of one hundred Maunga-tari-tari natives to assist them in its completion; to whom they gave the entire sum that had been paid them by the Missionary Society, amounting in value to about £23 sterling; they also killed a couple of hundred pigs, that their friends might live well during the time devoted to their assistance. The windows, which are of a gothic shape, and thirteen in number, were fetched from Tauranga on the coast—a distance of seventy-five miles from Otawhao—by fourteen men; who carried them on their backs, over mountains and through forests, without any payment whatever. The whole tribe, amounting to about 600 or 700 natives, are now nearly all Christianized."—(Vol. ii., pp. 141, 142.)

Governor Grey, on visiting the "extensive and fertile districts of the Waikato and Waipa," in the year 1849, declared himself—

"Both surprised and gratified at the rapid advance in civilization which the natives of that part of New Zealand have made, during the last two years. Two flour mills have already been constructed at their sole cost, and another water mill is in course of erection. The natives of these districts also grow wheat very extensively, at one place alone the estimated extent of land under wheat is 1,000 acres. They have also good orchards, with fruit trees of the best kind grafted and budded by themselves. They have extensive cultivations of Indian corn, potatoes, &c., and have acquired a considerable number of horses and horned stock. Altogether I have never seen a more thriving or contented population in any part of the world. The districts I am describing are of the most fertile character, and the quantity of land cultivated or used by the natives is quite insignificant, compared with the extent of fertile country. There would also be no difficulty whatever in acquiring any quantity of waste land, that might be required there, as the chiefs were most earnest to have Europeans settled amongst them, and offered to give up any portions of the country to the government for the purpose of locating European settlers upon. * * * The marked and rapid improvement which has taken place in the natives, inhabiting the districts to which I am alluding, is in a great degree to be attributed to the exertions of the missionaries residing amongst them, whose arrangements for the religious welfare and social improvement of these people appeared to be only deficient in one respect, which was in the extent of the means provided for the education of children in the districts confided to their care; but to the honour of some of these gentlemen I should state, that they are in no respect to blame for this, as some of them, out of their own small means, maintain very efficient schools for the education of native children; and I think that the defect to which I have alluded will shortly be wholly removed by the operation of the law which has recently passed, providing for the education of native children." *

The country to the westward of the Waipa, between the harbours of Wangaroa and Kawia, exhibits dense and continuous forests, with steep eminences, whose summits command many exquisite prospects; occasionally extensive clearings have been made for potato grounds.

The banks of the Oparau, or Oparere, a small river a little to the northward of the Awaroa river, are of moderate height, and the soil is a good loamy earth, covered with a luxuriant vegetation of fern and flax; the hills in this vicinity ascend gently from the sea coast, and descend gradually to the interior; they are separated by ravines and by narrow valleys. The formation of the hills is volcanic, consisting of a solid basaltic matrix, with numerous pentagonal columns of augite. Many parts are covered only with fern; others, especially the ravines, are still clothed with forest, which appears to have formerly covered the whole. The country bordering the Waiharakeke river, which flows into Ahuahu harbour (an arm of that of Kawia), is varied and romantic; steep banks, clothed with luxuriant foliage, rise on either side, and almost every opening discloses a Maori settlement.

There is a Wesleyan mission station here, situated on a point of land jutting into the harbour; a glassy sheet of water extends in front of the house, and beyond it rises the bold and rugged outline of the mountain of Pirongia. The chapel stands on an elevated terrace behind the house. At Te Pahe, a small heathen settlement several miles up

* Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 1st March, 1849. Parliamentary Papers for 1850 p. 27.

the river, is a *wahi tapu*, or sacred repository of the property of a deceased chief, which when visited by Mr. Angas in 1845, consisted of an enclosure surrounded by a double row of palings. Within the inner row, which was painted red (the colour used by the Maories to represent mourning), on a frame-work of raised sticks, were arranged the weather-worn garments, chests, muskets, and other property belonging to the deceased. Calabashes of food and of water, and a dish prepared from the pigeon, were placed for the use of the departed spirit, who the heathen natives aver comes at night and feeds from the sacred calabashes. A small canoe, with sail and paddles, was also within the enclosure, to serve as a ferry-boat for the spirit to enter safely the abodes of eternity. The Maories view the place with superstitious reverence and fear, and will not approach within some yards of the outer enclosure.

To the south-east of Kawia* lies the elevated range termed the Mountains of Rangitoto, which forms a continuation of the west coast hills, and connects them with the group of the Ruapahu, on whose west slope is the source of the Mokau. This stream flows in a narrow valley, formed by two ridges, which branch out from the Rangitoto range, and falls into the sea about sixty miles to the northward of New Plymouth, or Taranaki. The scenery in the upper part of its course, especially near the Maori settlement of Whakatumu somewhat resembles the highlands of Scotland in the bold outline of the fern-clad hills, and the barren rocks jutting up in huge and picturesque masses. In this secluded spot a European missionary and his wife, have taken up their abode in a cottage on an elevated and rocky steep, overlooking an extensive country.

Four miles from Whakatumu the river dashes down a perpendicular wall of rock, sixty feet in height; the steep cliffs on either bank are clothed with evergreens, and on the opposite side of the glen, the broken rocks resemble castles, fortresses, and towers. Beyond the falls, the river winds its way between barren-looking hills, with blocks of micaceous schist cropping out. The land in the Mokau valley is fertile, though rugged, and much occupied by swamps, which, as in most parts of New Zealand, would admit of easy drainage.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW PLYMOUTH, OR TARANAKI, is situated twenty-five miles to the northward of Cape Egmont. It is 125 miles from Auckland (*via* Manukao harbour), and 180 from Wellington by sea, or 238 by land (*via* Wanganui). The town, which has been well laid out by its first surveyor, Mr. F. C. Carrington, slopes upwards from the sea-beach, and with its neat white houses, contiguous cultivations, green forests, and back-ground of wooded hills, crowned by the snow-capped cone of Mount Egmont (see map), presents a pleasing prospect. The country around, is undulating, broken, and interspersed with small dells, which vary in size from half an acre to two or three acres, are densely wooded, and generally contain a small but unfailing spring of fresh water. Of this indispensable element there is an abundance; between the town and the Waitara river, a distance of ten miles, there are eight running streams; springs and rivulets abound, and in the wells that have been sunk, water has been generally procured at from thirty to forty feet depth.† The want of a harbour (*vide* p. 268) is unquestionably a serious drawback to the settlement; the progress of the little town, or rather village, however, bears witness to its great agricultural advantages, and to the energy and civilization of its limited population. The most interesting building is a substantial granite-built church, offered by the first clergyman (Mr. Bolland) and the first settlers of Taranaki, as a thank-offering to Him who had guided them in safety from their native country to

* A few miles from a native settlement named Pari-Pari, situated on the banks of a small stream, flowing from the southward into Kawia Harbour, there are some large limestone caves, presenting the usual features of such formations. The entrance to the largest cave is a spacious arch, in the side of a perpendicular wall of limestone rock. For about sixty feet the cave extends inwards, hung with stupendous masses of stalactite. The stalagmitic encrustations on the floor assume the forms of large mushrooms, tables, and pillars, the latter frequently joining with the stalactites from above, form picturesque columns. At the inner extremity of this anti-chamber, at the bottom of a steep descent, a rapid subterranean stream flows across the cave: on the opposite side of the stream, twenty feet above it, is a corridor of thirty feet in length, filled with sparkling stalactite columns, leading to a chamber of indescribable beauty, which "appeared as though gnomes and fairies had been at work to adorn the magic hall. The roof hung with stalactites of the most exquisite and pearly whiteness, was supported by columns of yellow and transparent spar, that gave it the resemblance of a natural temple, and the crystalline walls and floor were covered with a sort of fluoric bloom of the most delicate hue and texture."—Angas, vol. ii., pp. 91, 92.

† Hursthouse's *New Plymouth*, p. 13.

this distant land.* About two miles from the church, on the banks of a small clear stream, called the Henui, is a small rustic chapel. There are besides a Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapel, an excellent hospital, two taverns, a gaol, and police barracks; three flour mills, two small breweries, and a tannery; and at Moturoa there are two shore whaling establishments. A monthly Court of Requests is held for the recovery of small debts. New Plymouth has as yet no "journal." A small public library, and a literary institution, have been recently established. The overland mail from Auckland to Wellington, carried by natives, passes through New Plymouth; arriving north and south every alternate Saturday, and departing the following Monday. The quickest communication either with Auckland or Wellington is by sea, as dull sailing coasters, although generally three or four days in making the trip, can perform it in thirty hours.†

The New Plymouth district is naturally divided into three parts;—the *first* of these is a mere strip, extending along the coast, covered with light fern, interspersed with tufts of grass; the soil is largely mixed with black iron sand. This strip, according to Mr. Hursthouse (one of the principal settlers), has been found to produce excellent crops of vegetables. The *second* division comprises a large tract clothed with fern six to eight feet high, intermixed with bushes, and the tall tohi-tohi grass. The surface is a vegetable decomposition of from seven to ten inches deep, matted together by the fern root, with a light yellow sub-soil entirely free from stones, shells, gravel, or clay. The principal farms are on this land. The chief difference as respects the cultivation of this soil and the preceding, is, that it requires more exposure before cropping. The *third* division contains the bush or forest land, and extends along the country in an irregular line, two to five miles from the coast, and a considerable distance back into the interior. The soil resembles the second division of fern land, but is ready for cropping at once.‡

The agricultural capabilities of this part of New Zealand, which has been justly termed "its garden," are attested by various authorities. Bishop Selwyn speaks of New Plymouth as his favourite settlement, and declares that "no one can speak of the soil or scenery of New Zealand till he has seen both the natural beauties and the ripening harvests of Taranaki." Sir G. Grey says, "I have never in any part of the world seen such extensive tracts of fertile and unoccupied land as at Taranaki;" and Dr. Dieffenbach, the unprejudiced and intelligent explorer of the Northern Island, states, "the whole district of Taranaki, as far as I have seen, rivals any in the world in fertility, beauty, and fitness for becoming the dwelling-place of civilized European communities."§

When the New Plymouth settlement was founded in 1841, there were not more than fifty Maories there, the remnant of the Ngatiawa tribe whom the Waikato, in 1834, under Te Whero-Whero, had conquered. Many were carried into captivity, others fled and settled around Cook Strait, but when the Europeans arrived, some of the latter returned to their country, and a large number were released from captivity by the Waikato, owing to the Christian influence exercised by the missionaries. There are now about 1,000 Maories living in the vicinity of the town, located in settled habitations. They cultivate a considerable extent of land—are possessed of more horses and coasting vessels than the Europeans, "and are in fact becoming useful and influential members of the community."‖ A single tribe (residing to the southward of the settlement,) have paid £300 to Europeans for the construction of two grist mills, and a third is now in course of erection for them. All are deservedly praised for their industry, sobriety, honesty, and peaceful habits: and through the unwearying exertions of the Episcopal and Wesleyan ministers, they have made remarkable progress in education; so much so that of the adult males, it is estimated that three out of four can both read and write.

A densely wooded range separates the undulating country, in which New Plymouth is situated, from that to the eastward watered by the tributaries of the river Wanganui. Great part of this extensive tract would appear to be broken and moun-

* Journal of Bishop Selwyn's Visitation Tour in 1848, p. 40.

† Hursthouse, pp. 62, 63.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 13, 14. This little work contains much valuable information of a practical nature adapted for the use of agricultural emigrants of small capital, to whom the New Plymouth settlement offers especial advantages.

§ *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 150.

‖ Hursthouse, p. 159.

tainous, and much occupied by dense forests, except round the immediate base of Tongariro, which is clothed with coarse tufty grass. In the various patches of ground cleared by the natives, the vigour of the plantations prove the fertility of the soil. During the upper part of its course the Wanganui flows through a very remarkable volcanic region, consisting of a plain several miles in extent, and entirely destitute of trees, broken with deep ravines and chasms, and diversified with numerous abrupt little hills, like Alps in miniature, some of which rise into tapering cones resembling craters, while others present the appearance of castles and steep ridges crowned with masses of rock, the whole backed by distant mountain ranges. The entire country is covered with blocks of pumice stone, and the rocks appear of igneous origin, the rounded hills presenting cliffs of tufaceous lava, or of lapilli of pumice and sand cemented by volcanic ashes. The only vegetable production is a coarse wiry grass, with occasional tufts of low fern. Through this desolate region the Wanganui, here about twenty yards in breadth, winds its serpentine course over a bed of white sand and pumice, through which the river has formed a deep channel, presenting here and there regularly terraced sides and platforms.

The singular congeries of mountains—some isolated, some in short ridges; the lakes and boiling springs, the pumice-stone plains and dense forests, which form the distinguishing characteristics of the interior of the Northern Island, have been described; but on the actual capabilities of the central districts, our information is too scanty to afford grounds for a satisfactory opinion. Many large tracts are said to be quite destitute of timber, and much more level than the country near the sea-shore. To the north-westward of Lake Taupo there is a considerable extent of available land, including Matahanea and several aboriginal settlements. The region to the westward, in the vicinity of the boiling springs, is described as resembling land over which a flood has swept, leaving it torn, or in many places ridged with terraces formed by slow subsidence, but altogether devastated and dreary; shallow ravines covered with gravel are observable here and there, often turning at sharp angles where the water had found resistance. Sometimes a higher cliff appears, consisting of a tufaceous conglomerate—the upper strata, a pumice-stone gravel, is covered with stunted ferns and lichens; occasional rushy moors vary the scene, and also swamps and numerous rivulets, near which the vegetation has a fresher verdure.*

In the route from Lake Taupo to Lake Roto-rua, some grass land is met with. The general composition of the soil round the latter lake is,—firstly, a black mould a few inches thick, then pumice gravel one foot thick, below this a yellow sandy loam about six feet thick, and afterwards, another bed of gravel. This soil, if not fertile, cannot be called barren, and might be much improved by a good system of agriculture. A station of the Church Missionary Society is situated on the eastern shore; a valley runs from thence to the eastward, and is, in several places, very promising. To the northward of Roto-rua a dense wood stretches as far as the extensive flat on which the Mission Station at Tauranga Harbour, Bay of Plenty, is situated, covering the hills which run along the eastern coast, bounding on one side the interior and comparatively open table-land, and on the other, sloping gradually, and spreading out into flat land near the sea-shore. The gigantic trees in this forest are festooned by creepers and wild vines, which envelop the traveller in a network, and render his progress wearisome and laborious in the extreme; for more than half the distance, however, a good wide horse-path has been cut by the natives of Roto-rua, at the expense of the mission, the three miles nearest the lake entirely cleared of stumps, and coated with powdered pumice-stone, forming an excellent road. The soil is good throughout, consisting of pumiceous gravel richly mixed with vegetable mould.

Tauranga was, in former times, an important place for the pig and flax trade, and several European traders have lived there for many years. Dieffenbach (writing in 1840,) says the natives are not inclined to sell any land, and their number is sufficiently large to enable them to cultivate their beautiful district themselves, if a durable peace were established among the different tribes (vol. i. p. 408). This desirable end, has, to a very great extent, been accomplished: the propagation of the Gospel of peace has greatly lessened and mitigated the quarrels which rendered native property so insecure, and villages are

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 330.

springing up in all directions, throughout the fertile coast district extending from Tauranga to beyond Hawke's Bay, the whole of which is now professedly Christian. Archdeacon William Williams took up his abode, with his family, at Poverty Bay, or Turanga, in 1840, and in that same year the number of individuals assembling regularly for worship in this district, were estimated at no less than 8,000.*

Opotiki, a central mission station of the Bay of Plenty, is situated in a rich valley containing some thousand acres, with a river running through its centre, into which vessels of thirty tons can enter and lie with safety. The population comprises about 1,000 Maories, who have built a large chapel, and are represented as an industrious, plodding, commercial people, possessed of horses and cattle, and of six small vessels, which they navigate themselves, carrying on a large trade with Auckland and other places, in pigs, potatoes, Indian corn, and wheat. They make their own bread, and supply their visitors with abundance.† One, and, occasionally, a second, Roman catholic priest resides here. At the native villages of Wakatane, Matata, Tunapahore, and the Kaha, the beneficial effects of missionary labours are likewise evidenced in the growing civilization of the people. At Waiapu River, a population of about 2,000 souls, who, as heathens, lived huddled together in three fortified pahs, now dwell in peace and security, scattered over their fertile and picturesque valley, or along the coast on either side, congregating on the sabbath in central spots, around the chapels erected by them for divine service. The river is very shallow, and Bishop Selwyn, who, following its course, traversed an old and scarcely practicable inland war-path leading from Rangitukia pah to Opotiki, says, that without counting the exact number of fordings he had been compelled to make, he contented himself with "the general impression that it was a day of as much wading as walking."

A mission station has been recently established at Kawa-Kawa (near East Cape), on a plain immediately adjoining a mountain on which the original inhabitants resided, but from which, on the introduction of fire-arms, they were swept off, almost to a man, by the natives from the northern part of the island.

At various places between East Cape and the Wairoa, a river flowing through an extensive and fertile valley to its embouchure in Hawke Bay, there are several mission stations and numerous native villages, whose names it is not necessary to record. The country in their vicinity has been little explored, on account of the great difficulties it offers to the traveller, who is obliged to follow the old native paths over frightful cliffs, steep and lofty mountains, across swamps and rivers, or in the soft and yielding sand of the seashore. On the southern side of Hawke Bay, in the neighbourhood of the Ahuriri river, extensive grassy plains are found; and the Tuki-tuki, which enters the bay a little to the southward of the embouchure of the Ahuriri, flows amid a succession of plains and gentle hills, chiefly covered with grass. Near the Waipawa, a tributary of the Tuki-tuki, is a small native village, pleasantly situated on an island in the centre of a lake named Roto-Atara, surrounded by grassy downs.

Of the large tract of country extending between the coast district, whose leading features have been above enumerated, and the immediate borders of Lake Taupo, little more is known than that it is extremely broken and mountainous: on the right or eastern bank of the Upper Waikato, there are said to be some grassy plains.

WELLINGTON AND THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.—In order to mark a geographical division of the island, I proceed to define a *southern* peninsula, which may be said to extend from Cape Matau-a-Maui, or Kidnapper Point, on the east coast, to the north limit of the Wanganui settlement on the west coast, and thence south, with a gradually decreasing breadth to Cook Strait. Along the northern limit, the greatest breadth from east to west, is about 125 miles; at Cook Strait, about 40 miles; the extreme length of the east or outside of the curve (formed by the peninsula), 170 miles, and of the west or inner curve, about 110 miles.

The above extensive track of country has an almost unbroken coast-line, compared with that contiguous to Auckland, but it is marked by the same features of continuous ridges, with intervening spurs, table lands, valleys, forests, and swamps; though from its greater breadth these are

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, for June, 1851; p. 126.

† *Ibid*, p. 127.

on a larger scale than on the northern peninsula.

From Cape Matau-a-Maui, the south extremity of Hawke Bay, to Cape Palliser in Cook Strait, the coast is bounded by a range of moderate height, varying from five to fifteen miles' distance from the shore.

The opposite coast is likewise bordered by hills, but their outline is far less regular and connected. Through the interior the lofty Rua Hine range, stretches in a north to south-east direction, terminating in two branches, called the Tararua, or Remutaka Mountains. The extremity of the latter ridge forms the tongue of land, which, stretching into the sea, separates Palliser Bay from Port Nicholson.

Wellington, the chief settlement formed by the New Zealand Company, is situated at the south-east corner of Port Nicholson,* on the shores of an inner basin, which is called Lambton Harbour. The houses lie in tiers, scattered around and above the margin of the bay, for a distance of three miles, and being closely hemmed in by steep hills clad with thick forest, form a picture which can scarcely fail to please the eye of an artist, but is calculated to produce a very different impression on that of the agricultural immigrant. The town occupies two level spaces of limited extent; Pipitea, or Thorndon, and Te-Aro Flat, on the western and southern sides of the harbour, and stretches over some of the least impracticable declivities. On or near Pipitea Flat, are the government-house, church,† law courts, police-office, and the residences of many of the principal inhabitants. On the Te-Aro Flat are the custom-house, exchange, bank, Wesleyan chapel and mission-house, Roman catholic chapel, jail, a second set of barracks, and several strongly-built houses and warehouses. On the beach, which is the main line of connexion between the two flats, stands the Scotch kirk, a conspicuous object in a line of taverns, shops, and stores. An excellent hospital for Europeans and natives was opened in 1847. It is two stories high, and consists of brick, plastered with Roman cement outside. There are three cemeteries, in secluded spots; the largest is appropriated to the use of all protestants, whether European or Maori; the other two are allotted for the burial grounds of Roman catholics and Jews. Wellington has a Mechanics' Institute and a Savings' Bank, and its settlers have associated themselves in societies under the denominations of the Freemasons' Lodge, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the Loyal Antipodean Lodge. A Horticultural Society (always a useful association in a young settlement), was established as early as 1841; it receives seeds of the best kinds from that of London, and distributes them among its members; holds shows of fruits, flowers, and vegetables every three months, and gives small prizes for excellence in these, as well as in the cultivation of cottagers' gardens. ‡

The progress which the town has made furnishes undeniable evidence of the energetic and enterprising spirit of its settlers, who have struggled, and are still struggling, through many difficulties, by means of a heavy expenditure of labour and capital. The want of good and level land near the town is a grievous disadvantage, and the results of the fundamentally erroneous system on which the settlement was formed, impose a heavy clog upon their most strenuous exertions. Not the least of the obstacles with which they have now to contend has arisen from the exaggerated scale on which the town was originally planned, and the gambling manner in which the sections, after long delay (*vide* Div. v., pp. 154, '5), were allotted, indiscriminately, to speculators in London, or *bona fide* colonists. To provide 1,100 acre sections of at all available land, it was necessary to extend the boundaries south of the harbour, to a distance of two miles from the beach. Twenty-one sections, extending for about half-a-mile along the beach, at the southern extremity of the harbour, are private property; but, with this large exception, the public road lies between high-water mark and the boundary of private property. A public wharf, with 140 feet frontage, occupies the centre of the above-named private property, and there

* Port Nicholson has been described at p. 266.

† So lately as 1848 there was only a temporary church at Wellington; the bishop of New Zealand writing in that year, says, "with the exception of a piece of land which we *bought* at Te-Aro (south end of Wellington), we are still without a site for a church in a town half as large as Constantinople. The piece originally marked out is a mere water-course, scarcely available even for the small parsonage which stands perched upon the only flat part of the ground, with a most uncomfortable exposure to the wind and rain. Of course I declined to accept such a site for the main church of the Southern Division.—Visitation Tour in 1848, p. 90.

‡ *Handbook for New Zealand*, by a late Magistrate of the Colony; p. 202.

are several substantial jetties at other parts of the beach.

Behind the first street are various houses and structures, including a windmill, brewery, steam flour and sawing mill, &c. In the back-ground, rise the steep, wooded heights of Tinakore, which are included in the belt of land reserved all round the town for public purposes. Only the few main streets, in which sections are built upon, or otherwise occupied, are even marked out, and one or two of the principal ones are alone made passable for wheeled vehicles. No paving has been attempted; and the only street-lights are the lamps which the licensed publicans are required to maintain burning over their doors all night.*

The Te-Aro flat, or southern part of the town, near the beach, consists partly of undrained marsh, and partly of a poor, gravelly soil. Near the foot of the western hills, however, it improves sufficiently to permit the formation of several well-cultivated gardens. The more distant town sections to the south are covered with natural pasture, of inferior quality, for which they seem alone adapted. The soil of Thorndon flat, on which is the north-western portion of the town, is said to have been exhausted by the potato cultivations of the natives, but the careful cultivation of the settlers has reclaimed some limited spots, and given the gardens a cheerful appearance.

Immediately beyond the town belt, on the other side of the Tinakore range, is the Karori district, which consists of an undulating table land, 600 feet above the sea, surrounded by higher hills; and contains about 1,200 or 1,500 acres of land, originally covered with dense forest, in which partial clearings have now been effected by the axe of the settler. Wade's Town comprises a rugged hill of 100 acres, immediately adjoining the northern extremity of Wellington. It is principally occupied by industrious cottagers. There are several good roads in the vicinity of Wellington: that called Pitone lies along the western shore of Port Nicholson, close under the steep and wooded hill-side, from whence jutting buttresses of rock were blasted to make space for a passage. The Porirua road is the principal outlet from Wellington to the northern districts, through the Kenepuru valley.

With the exception of one or two patches of level land, close to the mouths of small streams, the whole eastern shore of Port Nicholson is steep to the water's edge. The peninsula which forms the western shore of the entrance of the Port, called Watts' Peninsula, contains about 1,800 acres, chiefly of steep hills, totally devoid of timber. In its centre a lake, covering about 100 acres, is in course of drainage, and about 200 acres of swamp around it, will probably be also rendered available for pasture or tillage. An isthmus, which connects the two indentations called Lyall and Evans' Bays, is a sandy tract, totally unfit for cultivation of any kind. A race-course has been laid out on the Peninsula, closely adjoining this tract.

The *Ohiro* or *Happy Valley*, the *Kaiwarawara Valley*, and the *Makara Valley*, are situated beyond the ridge of hills which form the western boundary of the Wellington town district. They are generally narrow, with steep sides, affording among "roughish" sections a few hollows capable of tillage. To the south and west of Makara Valley a tract of high hilly ground extends to Cape Terawite, to the northward of which is the Ohariu district, which contains some wooded hollows, cut off by a steep and rugged country from Wellington, and approachable only by two precipitous Maori footpaths.

The *Valley of the Hutt*, a small river flowing into the northern part of Port Nicholson, is divided into two districts, upper and lower; the latter extends somewhat in the form of a triangle, having its base on the shores of the harbour, and its apex at a gorge about six miles and-a-half from the sea, where the Tararua and Remutaka mountains approach so closely to each other as to leave room only for the passage of the river. Below this gorge, the Hutt gives rise to three watercourses, which occasionally overflow, and render a limited area of soil very fertile. Ninety sections of 100 acres each have been laid out, and eighty-eight selected in this district, and considerable efforts have been made, with some degree of success, to cultivate different portions. The village of Aglionby, on the west bank of the river, is said to be thriving. The exertions of the Hon. H. W. Petre, of the late Mr. Francis Molesworth, and of other enterprising colonists, to render valuable the unfortunate site chosen by the New Zealand Company for an agricultural colony, deserve commendation.

* *Handbook of New Zealand*, p. 97.

The *Upper* Hutt valley, to the north of the gorge, is a level tract, about eight miles long, by two broad; the soil is inferior to that of the lower vale, and it receives less of the alluvium from the floods: the weather, however, is milder, the neighbouring hills sheltering the district from the cold south-easterly winds. Sixty-two sections have been laid out here. Two smaller valleys open into the Hutt from the eastward; that formed by the Mungaroa streamlet is almost entirely a swamp, yet, for want of better land, thirty-eight sections have been laid out there, and twenty have been taken; on that through which the Pakiritahi flows, fourteen sections have been laid out and taken. The Hutt road is continued up the latter valley.

The *Wairarapa Valley*, or *Plain*, situated between the Remutaka Mountains and the eastern coast range, is about sixty miles in length from south to north, with an average breadth of more than nine miles, and contains about 400,000 acres; four-fifths of this extent are on a dead level, intersected by several swamps, and the remainder undulating ground. Of the level land, about 200,000 acres are covered with grass, fern, anise, flax, and tohi-tohi (a sedge-like plant eaten by horses and cattle). The undulating surface consists chiefly of grass or fern tracts. Of the plains, about 80,000 acres are finely timbered, and the soil is there particularly good; in the open land at the lower part of the valley it is in general clayey and gravelly. The Ruamahunga River runs from north to south, through the centre of the valley, and disembogues in a shallow lake termed the Wairarapa, which communicates with another and smaller lake separated from Palliser Bay by a variable bar of sand, and surrounded by a tract of low swampy ground. The area of the two lakes is about 50,000 acres. The channel of the river, until it leaves the lakes, is deep enough for a vessel of fifty tons; above them a whale-boat may ascend for twenty or thirty miles, after which it presents a succession of shoals and falls, and is only available for canoes in times of freshets, when the floods sometimes rise suddenly to the height of sixteen feet.

The Wairarapa Vale is divisible into three parts; the lowest, or that nearest the sea coast, is mostly swampy, and covered during the winter months with water; the eastern portion consists chiefly of grass land, on which European settlers have, by renting tracts from the Maories, established stations for grazing stock; the lower ground near the river, comprises the wood-land previously described. Above these, in what may be termed the Upper Wairarapa, which is by far the largest portion of the valley, there are fine grassy plains intersected by belts of wood, watered by numerous streams, and supposed to possess a very rich soil. The above details are extracted from an able description of the Wairarapa Valley, which appeared in the *Cook's Strait Almanack*, for 1846. This district promises to be so valuable, that I also subjoin a condensation of those furnished by Mr. Tiffen to the New Zealand Company. This surveyor estimated the contents of the Wairarapa and Ruamahunga districts at 350,000 acres, which he divided as follows:—water, 55,000 acres; swamps, 20,000; unavailable hills, 25,000; wooded land, 80,000; grassy plains, 170,000. The first head comprises the upper and lower lakes, the rivers Ruamahunga, Huangaroa, Waingowa, and small streams; some of the *swamps* he considered undrainable, others might be converted into rich pastoral or agricultural land. Several of the isolated eminences included under the denomination of *unavailable hills*, might likewise possibly be made to afford tolerable pasture. The *wooded land* he describes as extremely rich, the forests, in extent, from ten acres upwards, are scattered over the whole extent of country. Among the *grassy plains* there are tracts of 10,000 acres perfectly level, where good grasses grow as luxuriantly, and nearly as close in the sward, as in English meadows. The substratum of many of the plains is conglomerate, with but a few inches depth of mould, unfit for anything else but grass; the soil is, however, extremely variable; in some places of the best quality, in others very indifferent; in many very sandy, in some gravelly; in others it consists of a stiff poor clay.*

The distance from Wellington to the ferry across the Wairarapa Lake, is about forty-one miles along the coast, and the way is, unfortunately, rough and difficult for cattle and sheep—another somewhat shorter road will probably be soon, if, indeed, it is not already, formed through the Hutt District, and along the eastern foot

* Nineteenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, pp. 61, 62, 63.

of the Remutaka range. To the northward of the Upper Wairarapa district, are the *Hauriri Plains*, which are said to contain "an area of 500 square miles of level grass land;"* and still further to the northward is a tract of level country watered by the five streams which unite to form the Tuki-tuki. This plain is called *Rua O Taniwa*, and is described by Bishop Selwyn as "stretching as far as the eye could reach, and covered in almost every part with grass, without a bush or tree of any kind, with the exception of two small Kahikatea clumps, the small remains of an ancient forest which had formerly occupied the ground."† The fine river *Manawatu* flows from north to south, in a direction parallel with the Rua Hine Range, before making a decided bend to the westward. During this portion of its course it flows in a very deep and winding channel, with precipitous wooded banks feathering down to the water's edge. There are several small native settlements on either shore. The adjacent country has been very imperfectly explored; its general character is reported to be tolerably level, with much timber, and many swamps.

Between the sea and that portion of the coast range which forms the eastern boundary of the Wairarapa Valley, there is a long narrow strip of flat land, called the Awaawa Motuai table-land; and below it, in the south-eastern angle of the island, there are also some grassy terraces: the whole of this portion of New Zealand, (if it do not prove too damp,) will probably be occupied by extensive cattle, horse, and sheep stations. Merino sheep are said to thrive well at the Wairarapa; and the average annual increase of the different stations is stated by Mr. Fox (the late principal agent of the New Zealand Company,) at 90 per cent.‡ The climate is very different to that of Wellington; being more inland, it is less exposed to tempestuous winds, and is consequently warmer, with less rain during the winter months.

The country to the northward of Port Nicholson, through which the Lower Manawatu, the Rangitiki, Waingaiho, Tarakino, the lower portion of the Wanganui, and other small streams, flow towards the west coast, is bounded inland by the Rua Hine and Tararua Mountains, which send out several spurs towards the sea-shore. The intervening space contains considerable tracts of level land, sometimes covered with grass, but more frequently with fern, and intersected by numerous water-courses and swamps. Many of the latter may be drained, as the fall of the land is favourable to carrying off the surplus water. On this line of coast several small hamlets have been formed as offshoots from Wellington, when it was found that the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson did not contain one-twentieth part of the assumed "cultivable" land which had been laid out in paper sections, and sold by the New Zealand Company in England, in anticipation of the millions of acres of first-rate land that Colonel Wakefield was confidently expected to purchase with a portion of the muskets, gunpowder, red blankets, and jews-harps, &c., which formed the freight of the *Tory*, in 1839; (vide p. 157.)

On, and in the near vicinity of the hilly and forest-clad shores of the harbour of Porirua (dark pit), eighty-four acre sections have been laid out, and a small hamlet called *Paramatta* is situated on a low point of clear land on the north side of a narrow gut, by which the waters of the inner harbour communicate with a deep bay, opening into the sea nearly opposite the island of Mana. Commodious stone barracks were built here in 1846. A good road was constructed at nearly the same time from Wellington, a distance of about twelve miles, at the joint expense of the Company, (who commenced it,) the government, and the settlers, (who contributed some amount of both labour and materials,) by working parties of troops and natives, at a total cost of about £700 per mile.§

In the midst of all the warfare and disputes raised by the "Land Question," it was generally agreed that five or six hundred acres of land should be freely given up to the Bishop and his successors, for the purpose of founding a college in which the Maori and English youth might be trained up together in the knowledge of God, and in the habits of civilized life. Bishop Selwyn selected for the site of this New Zealand "Trinity College," Witereia, a peninsula immediately opposite Mana Island, where a space of 600 acres is separated from the main land by Titahi Bay and Porirua Har-

* *Cook Strait Almanack*, for 1846.

† *Church in the Colonies.* New Zealand. Part i., p. 68.

‡ Vide *Six Colonies of New Zealand*, by William Fox, p. 6.

§ *Hand-book*, by a late Magistrate, p. 111.

bour, with an isthmus of three-quarters of a mile between the two waters. This nearly isolated position is within little more than a mile of the main road to Wellington. About 200 acres are covered with wood, the remainder is open, rising into grassy hills, with steep declivities to the sea-beach. From the bold headland of Witereia there is a full view of Mana Island, and a beautiful prospect of the hills of Middle Island, or New Munster.*

A few miles of broken woodland intervene between Porirua and *Pukerua*, a native village, built on the top of a steep bank, commanding a beautiful sea view, with the island of Kapiti in the distance. Six miles further is the Maori settlement of *Pari-Pari*, situated on a rocky spur, which juts into the sea at high water; a little beyond this the hills commence slowly retiring inland, and the country assumes the character of a broad sandy belt, backed by sand ridges for about six miles from the shore, the intermediate space widening gradually to the northward, until at Wanganui the main ridge is about twenty-five miles distant from the sea. In this interval numerous streams flow from the mountains to the sea; some fordable at all times, others occasionally impassable. At *Waikanae* there is a native village where some hundred acres of wheat have been successfully cultivated. Here, too, a native has set up a house of entertainment, with an ordinary on the weekly market days, which is usually well attended. Two pounds of pork, as much of potatoes, and a pint of coffee, with sugar, are furnished to each guest for a shilling. The chapel here is a most creditable specimen of aboriginal architecture and embellishments; the ridge-piece, seventy-six feet in length, was formed out of a single tree, and presented by the people of Otaki, to the people of Waikanae, at the termination of hostilities, in token of peace and goodwill. This and other adjacent villages owe much of their prosperity and happiness to the exertions of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, of the Church of England Mission. Ten miles to the north of Waikanae is *Otaki*, a thriving village, whose streets have been regularly laid out by a surveyor. The natives have deserted their fortified pahs, and built comfortable houses in the middle of their cultivations; the architecture is Maori, but the doors, windows, and other appurtenances, are after the English fashion. The number of cattle, horses, and pigs feeding around the settlement afford evidence of its prosperity. Power, writing in 1848, says—

"We lunched with E. Martene (Martin) whom we found in a comfortably furnished house, with tables, chairs, knives, and forks, and pictures of the Queen and Prince Albert over the chimney-piece. Martin and his wife were comfortably dressed in European clothing, and they gave us butter, milk, eggs, tea, bread, and cakes, any one of which articles it would have puzzled us to find here a year ago."—(p. 129.)

Bishop Selwyn, on visiting the settlement in the same year, found old Te Rauperaha at the head of about 300 men, engaged in raising, by their own native methods, the heavy pillars for the support of the roof of a chapel 300 feet in length.

Further to the northward, towards *Manawatu*, which is seventeen miles distant, and on the banks of that fine stream, there are several prosperous Maori villages, and scattered European settlers. In the back ground are two fresh-water lakes, one of about two miles, the other (named *Horowenua*), of about five miles in circumference; both drain into small water-courses, and flow into the sea. In the neighbourhood of the Manawatu river and Lake Horowenua, above 300 acre sections have been laid out and selected by Europeans. A recent anonymous writer, (who appears to have been in some manner connected with the New Zealand Company,) says—

"About 150 of the sections in the Manawatu, or eastern district of the two, are in a swamp which will be easily drained, so as to afford the richest soil; and the rest are level forest land, covered with deep vegetable deposits and alluvial soil from the annual freshets. With the exception of a few woody sections, and a few more of reclaimable swamp, the Horowenua district, consisting altogether of 192 sections, spread over open pasture or fern land."—*Handbook of New Zealand*, by a late Magistrate, p. 117.

The above description, evidently penned by a witness disposed to take a favourable view of the capabilities of the district, does not convey an impression of its affording much, if any, land immediately available for agriculture. Thirty miles above the end of the clear navigation of the Manawatu, or eighty-two miles from the sea, by the tortuous course of the stream, but only sixty in a straight line, is the gorge, between the Rua Hine and the Tararua ranges, through which the Manawatu rushes in its progress from the western side of the Rua Hine mountains, where it takes its rise. Small vessels that can cross the bar may ascend the river

* *Visitation Tour of* 1848, p. 86.

thirty-two miles from its mouth, but the tide does not flow for more than two-thirds of the distance; and after heavy floods, the navigation is impeded by large masses of drift timber.

The village and township of *Petre* is situated about four miles up the western bank of the Wanganui river;* the site of the town is level, with the exception of two or three low sandy ridges; and contains 508 sections, of a quarter of an acre each, besides reserves, and a belt for public purposes: the whole plan extends over 807 acres, forming nearly a square, of which two sides are bounded by the river, and a third by a steep, wooded slope, leading up to the high table-land; bold cliffs bound the opposite bank of the river.

A small church, a lock-up house, post-office, and school, constitute the only public buildings of the town, which the author of the *Hand-Book of New Zealand*, writing in 1848, described as containing about thirty houses. There are numerous aboriginal villages bordering the river, and several mission stations. Of these latter, another has been very recently established at Pipiriki, a romantic spot, situated eighty miles from the sea, where the cliffs (200 feet high) tower perpendicularly, like immense bastions, clothed with moss and ivy; in some places tall stemmed trees spring forth from the fissures, in others streams of crystal water flow over them from a great height. A church built here by the Maories is seventy-five feet long, by thirty-five feet broad, and twenty high, exclusive of the roof.

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MIDDLE ISLAND—NEW MUNSTER, OR TAVAI-POENAMMOO.—The physical outline of the Middle Island differs considerably from that of New Ulster: it is of an elongated form, with nearly equal breadth, except to the southward; has few great indentations save those at either extremity; and is characterized by a lofty mountain range, which runs parallel with the west coast. The length of the island in a south-west by south direction is about 500 miles between the parallels of 40° 31′ and 46° 35′; the average breadth 120 miles, and the area 60,000 square miles, or 38,400,000 acres. This estimate is given on the authority of Mr. Frederick Tuckett, whose extensive explorations in the Middle Island, added to the brief, but valuable notices of Cook; the recent nautical surveys of Captain Stokes, the notes of Bishop Selwyn, the "journal" of Mr. Edward Shortland, the results of the long and perilous expedition of Mr. Brunner, the reports of Messrs. Fox, Mantell, and Hamilton, and the recent facts furnished by the colonists themselves, comprise the whole of the information yet acquired of this extensive territory (excepting, of course, the country in the immediate vicinity of Cook Strait).

When the topographical accounts furnished by these authorities *materially* differ, their respective statements are given, in order that readers or intending emigrants may form their own conclusions. It should, however, be borne in mind, that some years must first elapse, and colonization make considerable progress, before the capabilities of the Middle Island for the support of a large agricultural population, can be satisfactorily ascertained. All that can at present be done, is to indicate the most prominent features of the country; the character of the soil given by surveyors, or other travellers, and the actual capacities of such portions as have been tested by the comparatively few emigrants who have, as yet, established themselves there.

*Coast Line.*—The southern shores of Cook Strait, unlike the northern coast, afford numerous harbours, and are much broken by spurs, stretching out from the rocky barrier which extends the whole distance behind them, in one great semicircle from *Cape Farewell* their eastern, to *Cape Campbell* their western extremity, and sends forth from its central and highest part the long mountain ridges which divide Massacre Bay and the Takaka on the one side, from the Wairau Valley on the other. *Massacre, or Coal Bay*,† a deep recess containing no good ship harbour, and only a tolerable roadstead, is situated between Cape Farewell, in 40° 3′ S. lat., and Separation Point, in 40° 46′ S. lat., 173° 5′ E. long.

* The above details respecting the country between Wellington and Wanganui, have been collated from the accounts given by Bishop Selwyn, the *Hand-book of New Zealand*, by a late magistrate, another later *Hand-book*, by G. B. Earp, Esq., the reports of the Missionary Societies, and some local authorities. Power, who repeatedly traversed the country between Wellington and Wanganui, before any road was attempted, described the intervening space as 150 miles of forest, swamps, sand-hills, and rivers.—*Sketches in New Zealand*, p. 127.

† The first name, Massacre or Murderer's Bay, was given by Tasman, three of his crew having lost their lives here (see p. 408), the second by the Nelson colonists, from the abundance of coal discovered on its shores.

A point of low land stretches off from the cape, in an east by south direction, and terminates in a long sand-bank, thus barring all entrance to the bay from the north. On and within this bank the water is shoal.

Two rivers, the *Aorere* or *Hauriri,* and the *Takaka* disembogue in Coal Bay, at the entrance of the first of these streams an outer sand-bank affords shelter for small craft: the mouth of the Takaka, which is fourteen miles distant to the south-westward, is likewise accessible with the tide to vessels of moderate size. Between the Takaka and Separation Point, opposite the village of *Tata,* are two rocky limestone islets, which form the small roadstead above mentioned. Proceeding along shore from the Takaka to Tata, there is, for a few miles, a frontage of fertile land, backed by lofty and very picturesque crags of white limestone. At the mouth of the *Motu-pipi,* a small stream of three or four miles in length, which originates in the overflowings of the Takaka, at a point above a rapid where the river makes a considerable circuit, just above high-water mark, several beds of coal are visible; the limestone rock cropping out close by.*

To the westward of Tata is *Tukapa,* or *Toucapo Cove,* from thence the coast is bluff and inaccessible to *Separation Point,* the bold rocky headland, which separates Coal Bay from *Blind Bay,* or *Tasman's Gulf,* a deep bight, whose western shores are generally steep, rocky, and unavailable. There is no limestone at this part of the coast; the rocks are chiefly of whinstone, some sienite, and a crumbling coarse-grained substance, which appears to be an unformed or decomposed granite. *Astrolabe Roadstead,* so named by the French navigator D'Urville, in honour of the corvette which he commanded, is situated in 40° 58′ S. lat., 173° 6′ E. long. It affords safe anchorage, and is formed by Adêle Island, which shelters it on the east. A few miles to the southward are the outlets of the *Rewaka,* a small stream; of the *Motueka,* a considerable river, which flows between mountain ridges, is joined in the early part of its course by the *Motu-pika,* and subsequently receives three or four tributaries; and of the *Moutere,* another small stream.

Proceeding along the southern shore of Blind Bay, about ten miles east of the Moutere, we arrive at the western mouth of the *Waimea River,* and the islands of the same name, to the north-east of which lies the port of the *Nelson Settlement,* a deep tidal harbour, in 41° 14′ S. lat., 173° 15′ E. long. formed by a narrow bank of very heavy boulders, six miles in length. The tidal stream flowing down the bay, is cleft by a peaked rock called the "Arrow," outside the entrance; part, with a sudden turn northward, rushes into the harbour with the velocity of a mill race, but the main flood passes onward, up the eastern arm of the Waimea, which also affords anchorage for vessels. A stream, called by the natives the *Wakatu,* rises in the mountains between the rivers Waimea and Pelorus, and disembogues in Nelson Haven. In this extremity of the bay, wind and rain are both infrequent, and notwithstanding the almost incessant gales which blow one way or the other through Cook Strait, it is usually calm at Nelson; but the sea often sets down with a heavy swell from the north and north-east.

About ten miles from the entrance of Nelson Haven is *Pepin Isle,* to the northward of which lies the deep recess, named by the French *Croix Isle.* The shores are steep, and backed by lofty mountains; some small islands at the entrance form a partial breakwater, but a heavy swell enters from the north and north-west, on which account it is not a very eligible harbour. *French Pass,* or *Current Basin,* between D'Urville Island and the main land, extends between Blind Bay and Admiralty Bay; and, with ordinary care, affords a safe channel for small vessels: large ones ought not to attempt it. The *Astrolabe,* however, succeeded in effecting a passage without receiving serious damage. The shores of *D'Urville's Island* are, for the most part, bold and rocky, and the surface nude, or covered with a stunted vegetation. The southern coast is lower, affords some fertile land, and abounds in beaches and sheltered coves, of easy access to boats. The Pass and this shore forms a much-frequented native fishery. On the eastern coast is *Rangitoto,* a considerable native village, situated on a small bay of the same name; and on the northern, in 40° 44′ S. lat., 173° 57′ E. long., is *Port Hardy,* the best ship harbour in Blind Bay.

* This coal is said to be sulphurous, and not very bituminous; it is considered by Mr. Tuckett not good enough for steam-boats, and decidedly unfit for forge work. It has, however, been of great service in burning the contiguous limestone, and as the vein is worked at a lower level, the quality improves.

*Stephens' Islet* is separated by a narrow passage from D'Urville's Island; it forms the western extremity of *Admiralty Bay,* an opening studded with hilly, wooded islets, among which good anchorage may be obtained. At the southern end of the bay is *Pelorus Sound,* which is about a mile in breadth at its entrance, but immediately expands, and stretches inland for twenty or thirty miles, between wooded ridges, and has thirty to forty fathoms depth of water. Several lesser inlets branch off from the head and sides of the Sound, some of which, from two to three miles broad, are hemmed in by lofty mountains clothed with forests to their summits;—forming altogether a labyrinth of lake-like scenery, of surpassing grandeur. Here and there valleys, or level spots, of very limited extent, are found between the water and the steep hill sides, and serve to add diversity and beauty to the landscape.* The banks of the river are well timbered: they are described by Mr. Tuckett as so rugged, "that it would be difficult to find, on either shore, an extent of level surface sufficient even to admit of pitching a tent. The prevailing rocks are slate; on the east bank, particularly micaceous. Possibly, in the next century, the vine may be cultivated, and the Pelorus may be styled hereafter the Moselle, or Rhine of the Antipodes." At the head of the Sound, the *Kaituni,* which flows from the east, and a smaller stream from the neighbouring hills on the west, have their outlets. The islands and rocks on the coast between the Pelorus and *Point Jackson,* the north head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, are principally of trap and slate. To the west of Point Jackson is *Point Gore,* a large open inlet, backed by high, wooded land, which is sometimes used as a harbour of refuge for vessels caught in an adverse gale in the Strait.

*Queen Charlotte's Sound* is described by Cook as comprising "a collection of the finest harbours in the world." It is about three leagues broad at the entrance, but gradually narrows, and is in many not more than a quarter of a mile broad; its depth continues almost to its head. The regularity of its tides render it as easy of navigation as it is of access: it has deep water close in shore, is perfectly land-locked, and singularly free from shoals, rocks, sandbanks, or any hidden danger.† Two small islands, called *Long Island* and *Motuara,* lie near the mouth of the Sound. Between the latter and the western shore is *Ship Cove,* an excellent harbour, famous as having been the favourite anchorage of Cook. *West Bay,* a capacious and safe haven, lies to the southward of Ship Cove, and several smaller coves indent the western side of the Sound to its termination in a bay called *Anakino,* which receives no river, as the channel of the Kaituna (flowing into Pelorus Sound) intercepts the drainage from the interior. To the eastward of Anakino Bay is a smaller inlet, into which a stream, called the *Waitoa,* about six miles long, descends gently down a narrow, wooded valley, and through a small but fertile flat, from the spot near which the "still waters" of the *Tua Marino* originate, and flow by an equally gradual slope, in an opposite direction, to join the Wairau.

The north-western shores of Queen Charlotte's Sound are formed by the *Island of Alapawa,* which is about fifteen miles long, and two broad, has a very broken coast line, and is, throughout its extent, extremely hilly, intersected by ravines, and covered with wood. Between this island and the main land, a passage, called *Tory Channel,* connects the Sound, about ten miles above its termination in Anakino Bay, with Cloudy Bay. The channel, which bears, for the most part, the appearance of a broad river, is generally bordered by mountain ridges, wooded from the water's edge almost to their summits: it has sufficient depth throughout for vessels of the largest size, but its eastern entrance is not more than a quarter of a mile wide, and the tide very rapid, both at ebb and flow.

An extensive harbour, called *East Bay,* is situated on the west coast of Alapawa, about six miles south of *Cape Koumaroo.* The north-west shores of this island mark the narrowest portion of Cook Strait, at one point only seventeen miles wide. Mr. Anderson, who accompanied Cook in his third voyage, gives the following interesting account of this portion of the coast:—

"The land everywhere about Queen Charlotte's Sound is uncommonly mountainous, rising immediately from the sea into large hills with blunted tops.

* *Handbook,* by a late Magistrate of the Colony, p. 224.

† The only circumstance that makes any particular caution requisite, is the set of the tides—the floods to the northern, the ebb to the southern head of the Sound: in sailing either in or out with little wind attention must be paid to this. The rise and fall is between seven and eight feet perpendicularly.

At considerable distances are valleys, or rather impressions on the sides of the hills which are not deep, each terminating toward the sea in a small cove with a pebbly or sandy beach, behind which are small flats. * * * In every cove a brook of very fine water, in which are some small trout, empties itself into the sea. The base of these mountains, at least towards the shore, consist of a brittle yellowish sandstone, which acquires a bluish cast where the sea washes it. It runs in some places in horizontal, at others in oblique strata, being frequently divided at small distances by thin veins of coarse quartz. * * * The mould or soil which covers this is also of a yellowish cast, not unlike marl, and is usually from one to two or more feet in thickness. * * * The hills (except a few towards the sea, which are covered with bushes) are one continued forest of lofty trees, flourishing with a vigour almost superior to anything that imagination can conceive, and affording an august prospect to those who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature."—(*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, p. 58.)

*Port Underwood*, in 41° 20′ S. lat., and 174° 10′ E. long., is a magnificent lake-like inlet, surrounded by lofty, forest-clad mountains, situated in the north-western portion of the extensive curve called *Cloudy Bay*. It is about a mile broad at its entrance, and five or six miles in length, widening as it extends inland, and terminating in two small well-sheltered bays, of which the western is divided from Queen Charlotte's Sound by a narrow, hilly isthmus. In the principal harbour there is excellent anchorage; but the south part of it is much exposed to the violent gales which blow in that direction, causing a heavy rolling swell.

The *Wairau River* disembogues to the southward of Port Underwood, after an extensive course through the valley and plain to which it gives its name. The entrance to the river is dangerous, and only accessible in fine weather. Proceeding still in an easterly direction we pass *White Bluff Head*, the termination of a hilly ridge bordering the Wairau—the outlet of a small stream flowing through a plain called the *Kaipara te Hau*, which is practicable for boats with the tide—and arrive at *Cape Campbell*, the headland in which the southern shore of Cook's Strait terminates, and the eastern coast of the Middle Island commences. *Mount Tako*, an eminence of moderate height, rising immediately behind Cape Campbell, is the first of a long series of mountains and hills which continue along the coast, sometimes approaching it very closely.

From Cape Campbell, in 41° 40′ S. lat., 174° 27′ E. long., to *Port Cooper*, in 43° S. lat., 172° E. long., there is no harbour or sheltered anchorage for ships; about forty miles south of Cape Campbell, is a small mountainous peninsula, named *Kaikura*, which partially shelters a cove called *Lookers-on-Bay*. A little beyond is the embouche of the *Waiau-ua*, while in the background, clearly visible to vessels sailing along the coast, rise snow-crowned summits of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet in height. The *Hurunui*, a river formed by the confluence of several streams, joins the ocean some five-and-thirty miles to the southward of the Waiau-ua; the country through which both these rivers take their course, will be subsequently described. The coast below the mouth of the Hurunui forms a deep wide curve, called *Pegasus Bay*, into which several considerable streams disembogue; of these the most important, called the *Wai Makariri*, or *Courtenay*, has its sources in the lofty mountains of the interior, and receives on its left bank the *Eyre*, the *Cust*, and some smaller tributaries; at high water there are two fathoms on the bar at its sea mouth. The native name signifies *furious, or very angry*, and well describes the impetuous current of the river when swollen by floods, at other times it flows through a shallow bed, and is easily forded. The southern shore of Pegasus Bay is formed by the oval-shaped, mountainous, and densely-wooded peninsula, to which Cook gave the name of Sir Joseph "Banks." On the northern side of the isthmus, uniting the peninsula with the main land, is the extensive inlet called by the natives *Takalebo*, and by the settlers *Victoria Harbour*, or *Port Cooper*, in 43° 36′ S. lat., 172° 45′ E. long., which extends nine miles from *Godley Head*, the rugged promontory that marks its northern limit; with an average breadth of a mile and-a-half, and a very varying depth. The harbour is easy of access, and has no bar; there are several small coves, but the water in them is shoal. About four miles from the heads on a curve of the northern shore, is the site selected by the Canterbury Association for *Port Lyttelton*; immediately off which, brigs, schooners, and small craft can lie at anchor. The port is nearly surrounded by precipitous hills, twelve to fifteen hundred feet high, over which a road is now being formed to facilitate communication with the extensive tract which has obtained so much celebrity under the denomination of the *Canterbury Plains*. *Port Albert*, or *Levy*, branches off from the same opening in the coast which

forms *Port Victoria,* and extends inland in a southerly direction for about three miles. To the north-west of Port Victoria is a lagoon about three miles in length, connected with the sea by a narrow gut, through which boats pass direct into the channel of a small stream called the *Avon. Pigeon Bay*—an inlet of the coast, running in a parallel direction to Port Albert, from which it is only a few miles distant—affords a good haven.

On the opposite shore of the peninsula, at its south-east extremity, is the capacious harbour of *Akaroa,* in 42° 54′ S. lat., 173° 1′ E. long., formerly a favourite resort of French and American whaling ships. It was here that about eighty French settlers established themselves in 1840, under the auspices of a small association called the Nanto-Bordelaise Company. [See p. 164–5.]

In the account given by Sir Everard Home, Captain of H.M.S. *North Star,* of his visit to Akaroa harbour, the following particulars are recorded :—

"The entrance may be known by a ledge of large flat black rocks, which lie to the northward. From thence to the anchorage there is a clear passage of about five miles, with a breadth of one to one and-a-half miles, and in one part, about one-third of the way up, the width is not more than three-quarters of a mile. There is no anchorage for the first two miles within the entrance, which is open to seaward with a rocky bottom fifteen to twenty fathoms deep. The tide is scarcely perceptible; the wind blows generally in or out of the harbour, and squalls occasionally blow with violence from the adjacent highlands."

At the south-west angle of the peninsula is the extensive sheet of water, termed *Lake Ellesmere,* or *Waihora,* separated from the sea by a narrow barren plain, eighteen miles in length, and from ten to thirty feet above its level, which forms the commencement of the continuous range of uniform shingle, called the *Ninety-Mile-Beach.* During the whole of this apparently interminable extent, neither bay or headland (worthy the name) vary the monotonous outline. Numerous rivers, several of which will be noticed in a subsequent page, disembogue here, and as far to the southward as Otago; the majority are blocked up at their outlets by a shingle bank, within which the river expands itself into a small fresh-water lake, but a few of the larger ones have an open mouth. They generally follow a strait course, which circumstance, together with the inclination of the plain through which they flow, accounts for their rapid current; their waters are mostly of a dirty white, or pipe-clay colour. One striking difference distinguishes the rivers originating in the snowy mountains of the interior, from those whose sources are less remote, for whereas in the summer months the former are flooded by the melting snow, and the latter are partially dry; in the winter months the former contain comparatively little water, and the latter overflow the barriers, which at other seasons obstruct their outlets.* At one portion of the coast there is a decided scarcity of water, except in the winter months, for, between the *Rakaia* and the *Wanganui,* a distance of twenty-five miles, there is not any attainable. The former of these rivers is said to have its sources in no less than nine inland lakes. Mr. Shortland, who forded it in the month of January, 1844, describes it as dividing into several branches, the deepest water being scarcely higher than the hips, but so swift that in wading he could feel the shingles moving down the stream. The *Rangitata,* or *Kakitata,* is another rapid stream, flowing into the ocean to the southward of the Wanganui; it also takes its rise partly in three lakes, called *Kirioneone, Oue,* and *Otamako,* and is subject to floods on the melting of the snow during a north-west wind. The river in the vicinity of the coast runs in three channels, near which a cliff on the northern shore rises about fifty feet. The western mountains appear to be here about thirty miles distant, the intervening space being a level plain, without a tree to be seen on its surface. Beyond the dusky outline of the western range the white tops of a snow-clad ridge appear like distant clouds.†

Immediately beyond *Waitarakao,* the fresh-water lake which marks the termination of the Ninety-Mile-Beach, the coast forms somewhat of a headland, and shelters a small roadstead, called *Timaru.* Still proceeding to the southward, towards the parallel of 45°, we reach the mouth of the *Waitaki,* or *Waitangi,* a river which, in times of flood pours into the ocean so vast a body of water, that its stream is perceptible for some miles off the coast. In the winter season the Waitaki has been forded, but the hazard is very considerable. There is no permanent bar at its entrance, although such may be temporarily formed during a heavy south-east gale, and Mr. Tuckett

* *Southern Districts of New Zealand,* by Edward Shortland, M.A., 1851. Pp. 241, 242.

† Shortland, p. 260.

considers it practicable for an ocean steamer with the tide. The North Head is high and cliffy, the south low, with a shingle bank on it.

*Moeraki*, or *Moerangi Bay*, is in lat. 45° 30′, with cliffs twenty to fifty feet high: a conspicuous reef, lies about a mile from the shore, and acts as a breakwater against the swell from the south-east, forming a roadstead in which a vessel might ordinarily ride at anchor, or quit readily, if requisite, with the wind from the north-east. A whaling station has long been established here, and a small port for vessels of fifty tons might be formed at comparatively little expense. Opposite the reef is a native village, which gives its name to the bay.

The next headland is called by the natives *Womroa*. Farther to the south at *Matakaea*, there is a bed of coal visible in the rocky cliff, which can be approached by boats through a narrow entrance between the outlying submerged rocks. Tracing the sea coast-line towards Otago, we find the *Wai-imu*, or *Waihemo River*, a clear, still piece of water, bayed back inland by a bad bar; it may, however, be entered by large boats or barges, and flows through a very beautiful and fertile valley. The hill land between it and the next declivity, which is named "Pleasant Valley," is almost equally good. A few miles further south, is *Waikouaiti River* and whaling station, which, with the aid of a short projecting pier from the northern headland, would furnish a tolerable harbour for small craft. From Waikouaiti to Otago, a distance of about nine miles, a bay extends, in whose south-west angle is a small but available harbour, called *Purakounui*, which offers a very eligible site for a village to husbandmen as well as fishermen, as there is good pasture and bush-land, well watered, adjacent to it.

*Otago*, or *Otakou*, the next harbour to Akaroa in a southerly direction, from which it is about 200 miles distant, is formed by a triangular-shaped peninsula, terminating in *Cape Saunders*, in lat. 45° 53′; long. 170° 50′: it is about fourteen miles long by two miles broad, with a depth of six fathoms, the whole way to Port Chalmers, the anchorage for large ships. At the seaward entrance, there is a bar with three fathoms on it at low tide, which is not more than 120 yards wide, and may therefore be scooped away by a steam dredge, whenever the trade of the port will bear the expense. The channel up to Port Chalmers, half-way from the head to the top of the haven, though deep, is narrow and winding; the depth of water from thence to *Dunedin*, the new Scottish settlement, is only sufficient for boats. A narrow and low bank of sand, across which boats may be conveyed, separates Dunedin, and the estuary on which it is situated, from the ocean. This bank is swampy, and covered with high grass.

The whole harbour, from the Heads to Dunedin (fourteen miles,) is bounded on each side by a succession of headlands, projecting a little way into the water, and forming little bays, with beaches of hard, dry sand. The headlands rise at once to a height of from three hundred to four or five thousand feet, and are wooded from the water's edge to their very summits. This ridge and some lesser hills separate Dunedin from the *Taieri Plains*.

*Port Chalmers*, or *Koputai* is a peninsula-formed bay, along whose shores a town has been established, which already promises to rival Dunedin. Ships of any tonnage can anchor within a short distance of the town, perfectly sheltered from the strongest winds, and uninfluenced by the tides. The depth of water is sufficient to allow coasters to heave down at high-water mark, for repairs. *Deborah Bay*, opposite Port Chalmers, is a pretty spot.

South-west of Cape Saunders is a lofty-peaked, rocky islet, named *St. Michael's Mount*, and on shore, some distance inland, is a conspicuous elevation, called *Saddleback Hill*. Two small streams, the *Kaikarai* and *Otokia*, disembogue on the coast between these two points; the former flowing from the northward, and the latter from the westward. To the southward of Saddleback Hill is the entrance of the *Taieri River*, which has a wild and inhospitable appearance, being almost blocked up by shoals and breakers. A rocky islet at the mouth is occupied as a whaling station. Schooners, by means of the tide, can cross the bar, within which there is deep, navigable fresh water for some miles inland. A few miles from Taieri is a tidal haven, accessible to large boats; but the coast is very rude and inhospitable down to the river, the *Tokomariro*, a stream of some extent, but completely barred at its entrance from seaward by a sand-bank: cliffs, fifty feet high, extend from thence along the coast, as far as the *Molyneux*, or *Matau River*. Several islets lie a mile or two off the shore,

between Taieri and Tokomariro, three of which are named *Matukatu, Hakanini,* and *Anui.*

About midway between Tokomariro and Molyneux rivers there is visible, on the coast, a cliff of coal, about a furlong in length, and upwards of twenty feet in vertical section. Mr. Tuckett considers this the best coal found by him in New Zealand, and has no doubt of its being an extensive coal field, as it reappears inland, on the banks of the Molyneux. The land above the coal, and adjacent to it, is particularly good.

The Molyneux river has two and-a-half fathoms on its sea bar, within which there are six fathoms of clear fresh water, communicating with a tract of fine land in the interior. The stream has been explored for 100 miles inland, and is, in some places, half a mile broad. Near its sea-mouth it receives the *Puerua River,* and has a northerly course, parallel to the shore, for about five miles, when it divides into two branches, forming an island about ten miles in length, and two in breadth. When the branches reunite, the river has a north-westerly, and subsequently a northerly course. The *Korero River* disembogues midway between the Molyneux and Tokato Point, from whence a range of lofty hills stretch inland.

At *Tokato Point,* off which there are some rocks, called by the whalers the *Naggets,* in lat. 46° 30′, long. 169° 57′, a vessel may lie while the wind is southerly. On the opposite side, an inlet in the lofty rocks of the coast, with a small river (the *Owaka*), affords shelter for schooners. Coal can also be obtained here. In this neighbourhood, the low cliffs and open pasture country cease; and from hence to the *Waikawa Haven* and *River,* the coast becomes extremely bold; lofty rocks, often of basalt, alternating with steep, wooded heights.

*Tautuku Bay* is commodious and picturesque, with good land, on which several whalers are located; and, united with Maori women, have expended much labour in clearing and tilling the soil. They possess a large stock of geese, ducks, and fowls; and on an island off the north-east headland there is a prolific rabbit warren.

A rocky headland, called *Chasland's Mistake,* and two lofty islets, named the *Brothers,* lead us to Waikawa (*Success*) river and harbour, about twenty-eight miles south of Tokato Point. The haven is second-rate, very narrow, and not easily distinguishable; the inner shore is a low beach, and the outer a lofty, precipitous headland. A large rock outside the entrance, on which the waves dash furiously, looks like the end of a submerged reef, and may deter the navigator; but the danger is more apparent than real, and a vessel of 300 tons may pass on either side. As at Port Nelson, the tide carries a vessel swiftly into the port, which opens into a somewhat narrow basin, running several miles inland to the north-west, and completely enclosed within lofty, wooded hills. The river enters the head of the harbour from a narrow and thickly-wooded valley, but the navigation is soon impeded by rapids and falls. The land does not appear so fertile as at Tautuku; basaltic rocks are not visible, but chiefly a soft iron and ochre-stained grit.

On approaching the *Mataura River,* the hilly, wooded land, and bluff coast terminates; the shore trends to the westward; and a level, open country reappears, which extends about twenty miles towards *Bluff Harbour,* and inland, in a north-west direction, for about fifty miles, to the *Aparima River.* Tuturau, a good fishery and a favourite native residence, is situated on the Mataura, twenty-five miles from its mouth.

Near the shore of Bluff Harbour the ocean-waves break on a high beach of fine quartz gravel, and from thence inland to the *Waiopai* the prevailing composition of the country is the same. The vegetation is chiefly of low shrubs, heather, and deep beds of moss. Numerous streams intersect it, and disembogue between the Mataura and the Bluff: deep peat occurs in several parts of this tract.

The following account of that portion of the southern shores of the Middle Island which forms the northern boundary of *Foveaux Strait,* is compiled from data furnished by Mr. Tuckett. *Stewart,* or *South Island,* will be subsequently described :—

"Bluff Harbour is a capacious basin, and has a good entrance accessible by two channels, one from the east along shore, and the other from the south. A large permanent bank, outside the entrance, is the cause of the diverging channels. Within, the tide extends for several miles to the north-east, and the sudden reflux of such an extent of shoal water effectually clears the entrance. There is no deep water in the harbour, excepting along the opposite, or south-western shore. The land north-east is low and flat, but the peninsula on the south-west is high and bold, especially on the outer face, sloping down to the water's edge inside the harbour, and affording a limited extent of fertile bush land and excellent timber.

"The same peninsula which forms Bluff Harbour

to the westward, shelters to the eastward the embouche of the river *Eurete*, *Omaui*, or *New River*, where ships can enter and anchor in safety. Between it and the western extremity of Bluff Harbour, a narrow tract of low land intervenes, on which, at seasons of high tides and copious rains, the waters have already traced the line of lowest level.

"A little inland of the anchorage, the Eurete makes a considerable bend to the north-west; here the *Waiopai*, coming from the north-east, unites with it. The latter not having a mountain source is comparatively sluggish, and can be easily ascended, but against the former stream it is difficult, even with a whale boat and a whaling crew, to make much way beyond the influence of the flowing tide. The 'totara' abounds on the sandy banks of the Eurete, from whose entrance to that of *Aparima* or *Jacob's River*, the water is very shoal, and the shore an extensive sand-bank; towards the Aparima the surface becomes firmer and is covered with grass growing in small tufts as on the plain near Port Cooper. Behind the sandy frontage, there is a great extent of table land of gentle elevation and promising appearance. Small detached woods, chiefly of birch, form pleasing and park-like landscapes. The unwooded surface, however, is almost nude; it consists of a deep, whitish calcareous grit earth, and produces only bunches of the toi-toi (or tohi-tohi), and other coarse grass and junci. Tall Manuka and small birch are the principal growth on the western bank of the Aparima, which, as it is ascended, becomes steep and stony. From the estuary of this river an arm named *Purupuruke*, uninfluenced by the tide, diverges to the eastward, from whose extremity to the river Eurete a short canal might easily be constructed, which would connect the navigation of the two rivers—a necessary preliminary work, in the event of the climate and soil proving sufficiently favourable to render the district an eligble site for colonization."

On the coast to the westward of the Aparima basaltic rocks again occur, and the country, though hilly, broken, and difficult of access, is more fertile; passing a small but deep inlet called *Colack Bay*, and the rocky islets of the same name, we arrive at a wider curve, in the centre of which a stream called Te *Wai-wai* disembogues, to the westward of which a long beach extends, backed by white cliffs, and broken only by the outlet of the *Waiau*, a stream flowing in a southerly direction from an inland lake called *Te Anau*.

The south-west extremity of the island, between 46° and 45° 30′ S. lat., presents a striking assemblage of islands and inlets, forming in this limited space numerous deep-water havens. The first or most southerly of these, *Port Preservation*, which was formerly considered a very good whaling-station, may be said to be an arm of *Chalky Bay*, to the northward of which is *West Cape*, in 45° 56′ S. lat., 166° 18′ E. long. *Dusky Bay* lies about nine miles further to the northward; it has an entrance three or four miles broad, and contains several islets, behind which there is shelter from all winds. Its northern shores are formed by *Resolution Island*, from which stretches a long tongue of land, called by Cook, *Point Five Fingers*, on account of five high-peaked rocks which lie off it. The land on the point is lofty, level, and wooded, forming an exception to the general character of the country for a considerable distance around; this latter being barren, rocky, and mountainous.* No Europeans are now stationed in this neighbourhood, neither are there any native settlements from the West Cape to nearly 43° of latitude; but there are said to be a few bush or wild natives, the small remainder of the former possessors of the soil, who have escaped the more general doom of death or slavery. *Doubtful*, or *Gaol Harbour*, is in 45° 15′ S. lat., from thence to *Milford Haven*, in 44° 32′ S. lat., mountain masses abut on the coast, giving it a dreary and inaccessible appearance. The sea is of great depth near the shore, and bays or serratures like the fiords of Norway are frequent.

Milford Haven is large and commodious, but there is no available land on its shores. To the northward is the mouth of a broad river called the *Awarua*, or *Arahua*, whose channel extends towards the extensive inland lakes, where the *Poenammoo* or green talc is obtained.

*Cascade Point*, in 43° 55′ S. lat., derives its name from four small streams which fall down its high red cliffs; it is the termination of a promontory whose northern shores shelter a recess called *Jackson's Bay*, off which lies a small island. Sealers, to whom every boat harbour on these shores is familiar, report that there is here a considerable tract of very fertile land, with a warm climate and good fishing. Mr. Tuckett was informed by several of the most intelligent of this class of men, that in every respect, save the absence of a real harbour, it was admirably adapted for the requirements of colonization; and their accounts all agreed in asserting it to be the only tract on the whole western coast, adequate for the requirements of a British settlement.

*Titihaia Headland* is interesting as the furthest point reached on the 19th of November, 1847, by Mr. Brunner, an enterprising and most zealous surveyor, who penetrated on foot from Nelson to the

* *Cook's First Voyage Round the World*, p. 179.

*Kawatiri*, or *Buller River*, in 41° 46′ S. lat., and from thence traversed the coast as far as Titihaia,* in about 43° 38′ S. lat.

The following facts respecting the portion of the coast which still remains to be described, are gleaned from Mr. Brunner's valuable report (Parliamentary Papers, New Zealand, 1850; pp. 31 to 56.) :—

Twenty miles beyond Titehaia is a low rocky point named *Kohai-hai* which forms the northern headland of a curve called *Looking-Glass* or *Narrow Bay*, into which two streams descend; the larger of these, named the *Waiweka*, was crossed by Mr. Brunner on a raft, and is described by him as a very dangerous stream flowing from the mountains over a rocky bed. Some miles to the northward is the *Waihau*, a large mountain-rapid running over a broad granite bed, and fifteen miles further is *Okaritu*, the most southerly of the native villages on this coast. Ten miles north of Okaritu is the mouth of the *Wairoa*, a mountain torrent falling over a large bed of granite rocks; between these two points there is no level land, the snow-capped range descending to the coast. Still proceeding in the same direction, and passing a long range of cliffs surmounted and surrounded by a dense mass of forest, we arrive at a strong running stream, about 150 yards wide, noted for a pond on its banks abounding in eels of a fine quality; a little beyond is a pretty river named the *Wanganui*, flowing in a wooded valley with but little level land. A stream about half a mile wide intervenes between the Wanganui and a projecting headland called *Paramata* or *Bold Head*, where Mr. Brunner found a stratum of fine-grained slate, having a good cleavage and of a reddish-brown colour, under a kind of blue clay. Between Paramata, and the *Okitika*, a considerable river about sixteen miles distant, the country is level and densely wooded. On the banks of the river there is some good bush land and deserted 'tara' plantations. The natives who formerly resided here, have gone further north, the bar at the mouth of the river having become so dangerous as to prevent their continuing the hapuka fishery, which formerly rendered the place so valuable to them [the hapuka being the best and heaviest fish found in New Zealand]. Mr. Brunner states that the encroachment of the sea on the land has created this obstacle, and mentions elsewhere several indications of a similar encroachment.

The Okitika rises in a lofty snow-capped mountain, considerably higher than the main range of which it forms part. This peak, called by the natives *Kaimatua*, is visible from Port Cooper on the eastern coast; a branch diverges from it towards the westward, and terminates in the before-mentioned promontory of Paramata. The rivers *Arahura* or *Brunner* and the *Tera Makau* also originate in the northern slopes of the Kaimatua, and flow into the ocean to the northward of the Okitika.

To the northward of Tera Makau is the *Mawhera* or *Grey*, a clear deep river, (with a bar at its mouth, the depth of water on which Mr. Brunner does not state,) running over a bright shingle bed; the undergrowth on its immediate banks is a beautiful mixture of shrubs, and the adjoining bush fine lofty rimu, rata, and black birch, with scattered patches of fern land. Its delta is described as a recess in the Alps of New Zealand, affording with the Teramakino valley (which is separated from it only by hills of gentle elevation), a considerable extent of available country. About six miles up the river is a seam of coal of apparently very fine quality, which presents itself under a stratum of mica slate. The coal is hard and brittle, very bright and sparkling, burns freely, and is free from smell; the seam is some feet deep, and level with the river's edge, but at least fifty feet below the surface of the earth. At a point about three or four miles further up, the river divides itself into two streams—the right-hand and smaller branch, called *Kotu-urakaoka*, bearing about south-east, and leading to a pass to the east coast, almost at right angles to the main stream. This branch of the river is wooded, but has a considerable belt of level land. [The Kotu-urakaoka takes its rise in a lake, of which some description will be given in speaking of the promising district connected with the Grey and its tributaries.] From the mouth of the Mawhera to Cape Farewell, the northern extremity of the Middle Island, a range of mountains runs parallel to the coast, sending down to the sea spurs or lateral forest-ridges, terminating in cliffs and headlands more or less bold and precipitous, the valleys or ravines between each of these contributing a stream more or less considerable, fed by the snows of the central chain and the drainage of its sides. 'In walking, therefore, along the coast between these points,' says Mr. Brunner, 'you have frequently to clamber over a rocky promontory jutting out into the sea, or, where this is impossible, to take advantage of the receding tide to pass round its base, strewed with the granite fragments which have been detached by the action of the water; and, having toiled among the broken rocks for a greater or less number of miles, you again come to another stretch of sandy beach, another river to be forded, and another precipice to try the goodness of your footing and your nerves.'

* But for an unfortunate accident, by which his foot and ancle were severely injured, this enterprising and courageous explorer, would (though without aid from the colony, and subsisting precariously, from day to day, on such food as could be procured by the way) have proceeded south of Titihaia to Jackson Bay, and ascertained beyond a question the real character of that part of the country.

When only a short distance to the north of the spot where this unlooked for calamity frustrated the execution of his project—he had thus recorded in his journal his confidence in his increased capability to endure and surmount the difficulties of his path—"I believe I have now acquired the two greatest requisites for bushmen in New Zealand, viz., the capability of walking barefoot, and the proper method of cooking and eating fern root. I had often looked forward with dread to the time when my shoes would be worn out, often fearing I should be left a barefooted cripple in some desolate black birch forest, or on this deserted coast; but now I can trudge along merrily barefoot, or with a pair of native sandals, called by the natives pairairai, made of the leaves of the flax, and what is more durable, the leaves of the ti, or flax, tree. I can make a sure footing in crossing rivers and ascending or descending precipices; in fact I feel, I am just beginning to make exploring easy work. A good pair of sandals will last about two day's hard work, and they take only about twenty minutes to make."

The only interruption to this occurs on the banks of the *Kawatiri* or *Buller River*, which enters the sea near the southern extremity of the wide curve extending between *Cape Foulwind*, in 41° 46′ S. lat., 171° 29′ E. long., and *Rocky Point*, a prominent headland in 40° 54′ S. lat., 172° 10′ E. long. The Kawatiri is a great river flowing from two mountain lakes called the *Roturoa* and *Rotuiti*, which lie inland nearly due east, the furthest being about seventy miles distant, and about sixty miles south-west by south from the town of Nelson. The *Inakaiona*, with its numerous mountain tributaries, joins it from the south-eastward.

But one more feature requires notice before closing our brief examination of the coast-line, commenced at Cape Farewell, viz., *Wanganui Haven*, which lies immediately to the southward of that point, and has a straight entrance between very bold headlands, leading to a tidal basin eleven miles in length, running parallel with the coast. The northern portion has deep water; that to the southward is shoal; on the western side four seams of coal are visible in the cliffs at low water; the highest of these is about fourteen inches thick, of inferior quality; the second and third, four inches, and the fourth ten inches thick, all of good quality. The adjacent rocks are of a soft grit, similar to that seen at Newcastle (England), but inferior in compactness and sharpness, and very much streaked on the surface by numerous small veins of iron ore. Should this prove an extensive coal-field, the harbour would require surveying, as there is a reef outside the entrance on which the white water looks dangerous; it is, however, believed that a ship may safely enter at near high water.

Mountains. — An immense mountain chain ranges the entire length of the island, running parallel with the western coast, and having the greatest elevation from 42° of latitude to the northward, and from 45° of latitude to the southward. The mean height of the entire range is supposed to be about 8,000 feet, but some summits are said to exceed 12,000 feet in altitude. Among the loftiest peaks may be noticed a snow-clad ridge, situated in 40° lat. a little south of the lakes Rotuiti and Roturoa, a position nearly equidistant from the eastern and western coasts.

Numerous branches diverge from the great chain; of these one already mentioned extends northward to the head water of Queen Charlotte's Sound, separating the valleys of the Wairau and Oyerri; an eastern divergence has its northern extremity terminating on the coast at Kaikúra, and more towards the centre of the island a series of minor ridges, with numerous spurs and buttresses, rise behind the Canterbury Plain, and then, taking a south-easterly direction, gradually approach the coast in the vicinity of Moerangi and Otago, to the very verge of the ocean. With the exception of a few small plains and narrow valleys, the whole country north of the forty-second parallel is an extremely rugged and inaccessible region; it is thus truly described by Cook, as seen by him at sea off the western coast:—"There is a narrow ridge of hills that rises directly from the sea, and is covered with wood; close behind are the mountains extending in a ridge of stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow, which has probably lain there ever since the creation of the world. A prospect more rude, craggy, and desolate than this country affords, cannot possibly be conceived—for as far inland as the eye can reach, nothing appears but the summits of rocks, which stand so near together, that instead of valleys there are only fissures between them."

Rivers and Lakes.—The rivers in the Middle as in the North Island of New Zealand, flow uniformly from the interior to the sea coast; the most important have consequently been already mentioned, and the little which remains to be said of them, will be related in describing the character of the country in which they are situated. Many take their rise in inland lakes. Of these latter, some few in the northern portion of the island have been visited by Europeans, but respecting those in the central and southern regions of the uninhabited and almost inaccessible interior, where they are said to be far more numerous and extensive, we have no other knowledge than the vague traditionary reports current among the natives.

Settlements of the Middle Island.—*Nelson, and the adjacent Country.* — The town of Nelson is situated at the south-east extremity of Blind Bay, in 41° 15′ S. lat., 173° 16′ E. long., on a small flat at the head of a haven hemmed in by rugged hills, and incapable of holding vessels of above five or six hundred tons,* but with a

* Strenuous endeavours are being made to improve the harbour, and it appears by the latest Colonial newspapers that 150 feet of rock in the entrance have been shattered and partly removed, which is nearly one-half of what is sought to be achieved.—*New Zealand Spectator*, July 13th, 1851.

good roadstead outside the bar. This position, the most unfortunate that could well have been selected for the site of an extensive agricultural settlement, was chosen by the New Zealand Company, probably with the motive of benefitting Wellington, their "first and principal settlement," which was then on the very verge of ruin.

Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor to whom the selection had been nominally confided, found himself, on arriving in New Zealand, utterly powerless to prevent Captain Wakefield, R.N., (the local agent,) from fixing the site in so manifestly ineligible a locality, and, in despite of his remonstrances, the three shiploads of emigrants who had already arrived, and who were speedily followed by the remainder of the deluded body, despatched by the New Zealand Company with their usual precipitancy, were landed, and the formation of the town commenced forthwith.—(*Vide* p. 180.) Instead of having in and around Nelson at least a quarter of a million acres good land, the whole of the shores of Blind Bay do not contain more than 50,000 acres of level surface, and of these not half is cultivable.* But for the characteristic perseverance and energy of the settlers, the place, notwithstanding the deceptive reports and fallacious promises made by the Company and their agents, must have been abandoned; as it is, it cannot be regarded as otherwise than a complete failure, both as a colony and as an agricultural settlement—while the "town," after the lapse of ten years, is little more than a straggling village, although nominally comprising a space of 1,100 acres. Of the emigrants originally introduced, a large proportion have re-emigrated; fled from the scene of bitter disappointment, which had been described to them as a paradise, and it has only been by the remainder devoting their time and means to the rearing of cattle and sheep, that they have been saved from utter destruction.

The town has been as well planned as circumstances would permit, but there are no public or private buildings requiring notice. In the centre of it, a square, called Trafalgar, has been laid out, in the middle of which, about forty feet above the surrounding streets, an Episcopal church, constructed of wood, in the form of a cross, has been recently erected in place of the temporary building previously used for the celebration of divine worsphip. The Wesleyans have a neat brick chapel. There is a literary institution, with a small library, an agricultural and horticultural society, and a printing-press and newspaper. There are three or four flour, saw, and flax mills, a brewery, six public-houses, and an inn, called an "hotel." Nelson has no municipal institutions, having in fact no civic community to carry them into effect. A magistrate and a collector of customs, appointed by the Governor-in-chief, form the whole government staff. Many of the proprietors of land in the settlement are absentees, the higher class of *non-absentee* proprietors (for *resident* they cannot properly be termed) are stock-holders and squatters, scattered over several districts, and the chief number of actual inhabitants are composed of the very men who, according to the so-called "Wakefield policy," were never to have emerged from the condition of hired labourers, but who now, owing to the complete breaking up of the whole scheme, have, after undergoing most severe hardships (*vide* p. 241), become cottiers, and are now engaged in cultivating the land for themselves and for their families. Squatters, cottiers, and waste land at thirty shillings an acre; what an immense sacrifice must not the original purchasers have incurred to bring about this result! The population of the settlement in 1843 was 1,568 males, 1,354 females = 2,922; and in 1848, 1,657 males, 1,433 females = 3,090,—increase in five years, only 168 souls.

The nearest available land to Nelson of any extent, is that comprised in the *Waimea Plain,* which was discovered and explored by Mr. Tuckett in 1841. It affords about 40,000 acres of level land, about half of which is worth cultivating, and some portions very good. That which was under water at the time it was surveyed, proved the most profitable when the sections had been properly drained. In a hill east of the Waimea, at about 200 feet elevation, is found marine limestone of excellent quality. Some portion of it is a conglomerate of shells. The country to the westward is thus described by Mr. Tuckett—

"Between the Waimea and a small stream called the Moutere is a considerable table land of moderate elevation and gently undulating surface. The soil is an impervious cake of an iron and ochreous stained gritty clay, which produces only a stunted growth of manuka, fern, and rushes, being available in point of

* A coloured map admirably illustrating the physical features of the country surveyed to form the settlement of Nelson, was given in Sidney's *Emigrant Journal* for 1849. Published by Messrs. Orr and Co.

level, for want of better land, it has been subdivided into sections, but it is quite worthless. Inland it is bounded by a valley, about nine miles in length and two in breadth, which runs parallel with the coast, crossing from the western ridge of the Waimea to the eastern of the Motueka. It is called the Moutere Valley, it has for the most part a thick growth of tall forest trees, but wherever it has been cleared it has disappointed the cultivator, who digs or ploughs in a deep gritty white coloured clay, from which rains and floods have washed all the soluble earth.

"In the vicinity of the Motueka River, adjacent to the coast, about 6,000 acres of good land have been obtained, of which about half is of excellent quality. The unwooded portion of the plain between the Motueka and Moutere is much of it very stony, and the unwooded part of the same plain between the Motueka and the Rewaka, is mostly wet and swampy. About 120 adult natives reside at the Motueka, and cultivate land extensively.

"The north-west shores of Blind Bay are steep, rocky, and unavailable; on this account, no land has been surveyed for occupation or even for sale, between Astrolabe Roads and Separation Point.

"Near the mouth of the Takaka, in Massacre Bay, there is some fertile land, but on being ascended for a few miles, the channel is found to contract suddenly, the land consists more largely of river-sand and stone, and is liable to frequent floods, which wash away all soluble or light deposits. Coal is visible in several places in a north-west and south-east direction. A reddish marble is visible in a cliff called Rangiata, near the mouth of the river, and large masses of white quartz are observable in various places. Between the mouth of the Takaka and the Aorere, or Hauriri, fifteen miles to the westward, there is a considerable tract of land of very moderate elevation, but with the exception of one block, not exceeding 200 acres, it is of little value. Its composition is, however, remarkable. A very level surface, covered for the most part with dwarfed rushes growing out, deep, white coarse-grained sand, resembling crushed quartz and oolite, and sodden with water.

"The Aorere valley is heavily timbered, but the river descending rapidly from the neighbouring mountains, frequently lays a considerable portion of it under water. The beautiful tree-ferns, one variety of which (the mamakou) is edible, abound in this valley. They flourish in moist and shady places, as does also a cabbage-palm—but this latter is more rare. There is a native village at the mouth of the Aorere. Along the northern shore of Massacre Bay there is a narrow frontage of available land at the foot of the hills. There are three native villages; about the centre, at Pakouwau, a native path passes over the hills to Wanganui, on the west coast; on the track behind Pakouwau, about a mile and-a-half from the shore, at an elevation of four or five hundred feet, a seam of coal is visible in the bed of a rivulet; this coal is hard and lustrous in fracture, of good quality, and has been used for forge work."

To the north-east of the town of Nelson, with the exception of a narrow strip extending along shore about three miles from Pepin Isle, the intractable nature of the district has forbidden any attempt at occupation. There is a flax swamp at the termination of the surveyed land of about 1,200 acres in extent, which when drained will be valuable for cultivation.

Some so-called roads have been formed or attempted in the immediate vicinity of Nelson; one from the town to beyond the village of Wakefield, in the Glen-iti valley, is twenty-one miles in extent, and has eight miles of cross-roads. Ten miles of road-way have been opened from Waimea to Motueka; three miles from Motueka to Rewaka, and nine miles from Wakapuaka to the Happy Valley. Most of these are not passable in the winter months. From three to four miles have been opened about Nelson; viz., to Brook Street Valley one mile, Haven Road one and a half mile, up the Matua Valley nearly a mile. The greatest amount of cultivation is in the Waimea Plain, but the whole extent under tillage does not amount to 1,500 acres.

The climate of Nelson is peculiar,—unlike Wellington, where wind and rain are among the chief sources of discomfort, the former is here rarely tempestuous and the latter not frequent enough, that is, on the low land surveyed for occupation adjacent to the coast. There is more than enough in the mountains near at hand, as is usual in other parts of New Zealand. The sky is rarely overcast, and the sunshine is bright and hot in winter as well as in summer, but in the shade the air is always cool even in summer. For the same reason, (the contiguity of snowy mountains), the spring climate is harsh and ungenial, checking vegetation, but the autumn and winter climate is very mild and constant.

To the eastward of Nelson, near the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, there is a small extent of excellent land and also some very fine timber. From hence, by means o the narrow valley of the Waitoi River, a road might be made to the extensive Wairau District; a broad level plain, eight or ten miles wide, which forms the low western shores of Cloudy Bay, runs inland for eighteen miles, and then suddenly converging to a width of about two miles, extends from forty to fifty miles inland. Though apparently quite flat, there is really a considerable fall from the head of the valley to the sea. According to Mr. Fox, the land for four or five miles from the sea is generally swampy, but of easy drainage; for the next eight or ten miles it is dry, covered with long grass and generally of good quality; beyond this it continues getting

lighter till it becomes very poor and stony, and only fit for grazing purposes.

The hills on the west side of the Wairau are mostly wooded, on the plain itself there is only one small tract of forest. The eastern portion of the plain is closely covered with grass, and affords good pasture for sheep, as do also the slopes of the boundary hills, which divide it from a smaller plain, called *Kaipara te Hau.* This latter tract is wholly unwooded, neither is there any timber visible from it: the high land bordering it to the southward and stretching to the eastern coast, is grassy, and affords better pasture than the plain itself, which is for the most part arid and stony.

A town in connexion with the Wairau and Kaipara te Hau plains will probably be eventually formed at Port Underwood, whose shores, however, scarcely afford as much level land as could be desired for the purpose. There is now a native village near the head of the harbour, where a Wesleyan missionary resides. Unfortunately for Nelson a heavy mountain ridge, unbroken except in three places, divides Blind Bay from the Wairau; the only pass at present practicable for horses or live stock is fifty miles south of Nelson, and enters the upper part of the Wairau Valley at a point sixty miles from Cloudy Bay, making the whole distance from bay to bay 110 miles.

It is said, however, that there is another pass, which, by a moderate amount of engineering skill and expenditure, might be made available, and would bring the Wairau Plain within thirty miles of Nelson. This route lies through the mountains, a mile north of Nelson by the Maitai river, which flows through the town, crosses the upper part of the Pelorus or Oyerri, and enters the Wairau by the Kaituna Valley, about fifteen miles from the sea.—(*Vide* Report on the Nelson Settlement. 1848. W. Fox, Esq., p. 10.)

The country forming the back-ground of that extending along the shores of Massacre Bay, is a vast mountainous tract, utterly unfit either for tillage or pasture, stretching as far southward as the valley of the *Kawatiri* or *Buller*, an extensive river, recently traced by Mr. Brunner from its sources to its outlet, with a very unsatisfactory result. The whole of the northern bank is declared by its adventurous explorer to be—

"Perfectly valueless, bearing mostly black birch and very steep. There appear no indications of coal, slate, or any metals, the chief formation of the country being coarse granite rock. The opposite bank seemed to contain pine trees in many places, and to have large flats of level timbered land; but the valley of the Inakaiona is the only open country of any extent on the banks of the Kawatiri from the Matukituki to its embouchure. * * * I was much disappointed in the last eight or ten miles of this river. I had previously seen the land from the coast, and thought it good and richly wooded where, on inspection, I found a wet, mossy surface, with little, if any, vegetable soil, the growth being chiefly rata. It will certainly not be in my time that the banks of the Kawatiri will be cultivated by a white population."

The Matukituki valley, through which the Kawatiri flows on emerging from the rocky gorges by which it is encompassed up to this point, is formed by the receding of the mountains; two other valleys open into it, both contributing their stream to swell its waters—the Matiri, from the northward, and the Tutaki, from the southward. A ridge of hills separates the latter valley from that of the Tiraumea. Beyond the Matukituki the river passes seaward through a "frightful country;" and Mr. Brunner speaks of the continual heavy rains, which increased the combination of difficulties formed by "large granite rocks, heaped confusedly together on the surface, with a thick growth of underbrush and briars, an immense quantity of dead and rotten timber, and all these on the steep and broken declivities of a range of high mountains, interspersed with perpendicular walls of rocks, precipices, and deep ravines."

Lakes Roturoa and Rotu-iti—from whence the streams flow, which, uniting form the Kawatiri—are about six miles apart, the former is entirely surrounded by a chain of snow-clad mountains; near the latter there is some pasture; but Mr. Brunner considers the Rotu-iti valley too cold and open for a sheep-run, and the grass much inferior to that found on the Wairau Plain.

The valley of the *Inakaiona*, or *Oweka River*, extends southward of the Kawatari to the Mawhera or Grey River, and is a tract of level country, sixty miles long, by four or five miles broad, separated from the sea by the coast range, and hemmed in to the eastward by the interior mountains. Mr. Brunner notes in his journal having passed through tracts of fine, rich land in this valley; but he gives no estimate of their area. On approaching the Mawhera, or Grey River, the aspect of the country changes—the hills diminish in height, gradually sinking into an open and level, or

gently undulating country, with a coast line of about forty miles, stretching far into the interior. This extensive tract, called by its first European explorer the *Grey District,* is watered by the Kawatiri and three smaller streams, viz., the Tramakau, Arahura, and Okitika.

The *Mawhera* is a fine river, affording much land fit for arable purposes, some good grazing districts in well-sheltered positions, and excellent sawing timber. The shingle bed of the stream abounds with coal, though of inferior quality to the seam near the sea coast. In it is also found the stone used by the Maories for rubbing down their *poenamoo,* or jade, which is something like a Newcastle grindstone, but closer in the grain, and has a better cutting quality. Several of the bends of the river are as picturesque as nature can make them; the undergrowth on the banks is a mixture of beautiful shrubs, and the adjoining bush consists of fine, lofty trees, with scattered patches of fern land; grass and open country, for the most part, bound the northern bank of the river to the average extent of between three and four miles.

The north branch of the Mawhera, which runs nearly parallel with the sea-coast, has long reaches of shingle border on either side; on the north bank there is a thick forest reaching to the chain of mountains that bound the coast. The timber is chiefly pine, with a belt of manuka nearest the water. The southern branch of the *Koturakaoka River* flows from an extensive sheet of water called the Brunner Lake, which is connected by a short channel with another smaller lake, from the head of which there is a passage to the east coast. *Brunner Lake* has an area of about six or seven square miles, is very deep, with a sandy or mud bottom; in some places there are large granite rocks, and near the middle is a small island. The neighbouring country is a level bush; bounded by a pine forest, and surrounded on three sides by black birch hills of moderate elevation; towards the east the land is low, but the district is shut in by a high mountain region, towards the south-west. From Mr. Brunner's account, the Grey district appears to offer a fair field for colonization, in all respects, except the absence of an harbour. So far as we know at present, there are none nearer than those on Banks' Peninsula.

Passing the Grey district, we re-enter the region of rocks, precipices, torrents, and mountains, so graphically described by Mr. Brunner, who, from his own experience, and the accounts of the natives, concluded that the country to the southward continued equally barren and forbidding, and that though it might be possible to follow the coast down to Dusky Bay, (provided the danger of starvation could be guarded against,) the only result would be the gratification of curiosity. He adds:—

> "I am sure there is nothing on the west coast worth incurring the expense of exploring, but I certainly think the natives there, require something to be done for them. They are quiet, and do no harm, and ought to have some share of the attention that is paid to the natives who are amongst the white population. They have all books, both bibles and prayer-books, but their condition would be much improved by giving them a few good axes, and some other tools, as also some nails, of which they are very fond and know the value. They are much cleaner in their habits than the natives in the settlements, and they have better houses, most of them having chimneys, and also bedsteads, or rather a raised floor, on which they sleep. I trust something will be done for their welfare, in which I take great interest. It would be a very trifling expense to convey a few things to the Kawatiri, from whence the natives themselves would gladly distribute them down the coast. The introduction of goats would much benefit them, and ultimately ourselves."

Leaving the western, we now proceed to examine the eastern portion of the Middle Island.

To the southward of the Wairau plain and valley, down to near Banks' Peninsula, there is said to be a continuous succession of mountains and hilly ranges alternating with grassy plains. One isolated peak termed Kaikora, attains the height of 9,300 feet, others rise 4,000 to 5,000 feet.

The subjoined account of the leading features of the country, as far southward as Double Corner, is framed from the statements of Messrs. Weld and Hamilton, published by order of the Governor-in-chief. The first of these gentlemen (a Nelson settler), in December, 1851, explored a route between the Awatere River and Port Lyttelton, by which stock of any kind may be safely driven, with the advantage of good pasturage during the whole journey. Mr. W. J. W. Hamilton accompanied Captain Stokes, R.N., while engaged on the survey of the eastern coast, in 1849, and described the character and extent of the plains lying between Kaikora Peninsula and Double Corner. It must, however, be borne in mind, that these opinions

**are founded upon but cursory personal examination, aided by native reports, and that in a country where appearances are so deceitful, and the soil so variable and uncertain, as in New Zealand, the eye of even these practised observers could form but a partial judgment of the capabilities of such extensive tracts.**

Much of the country among the offspurs of the Kaikoras is at some height above the sea level, and is covered by a mixture of bushes, grass, and scrub, while frequent patches of black birch on the hillsides indicate the inferiority of the soil, which, from its light puffy appearance, appears to be frequently covered with snow. In some of the water-courses among the mountains light has never penetrated; the fissures rise in perpendicular walls, separated only by a few feet, and are overhung with vegetation. Juniper bushes, dwarf nettle, and broad-leaved English dandelion, mark a climate different to the contiguous plains. On a peak near the sources of the Awatere river, there is a curious semi-cylindrical aperture that looks like the extinct crater of a volcano. In attempting to explore the valley leading inland from the Kaikora peninsula, to gain such a view and knowledge of the country as would enable him to judge of the most eligible route between the Awatere and Waiau-ua rivers, Mr. Weld found that the river whose banks he trusted would take him to the head of the valley, issued from between two mighty and precipitous walls, several thousand feet high, cleaving the very heart of the mountain, whose summit is here above 8,000 feet above the sea; a more fearful chasm could not be found in Switzerland. To seaward the Kaikoras rise abruptly from the coast, and are well wooded. The *Awatere River* has its origin in the Kaikora and Mongatere mountains; numerous rivulets and rills unite to form the main stream, which is joined in its progress to the ocean by several smaller rivers. The main channel pursues its course between the spurs forming the inland base of the Kaikoras amidst scenery of wild sublimity; in some places winding with snake-like twistings and writhings, amongst volcanic rocks and cliffs, presenting at every turn the most romantic features; in others flowing through level valleys, or meandering amidst undulating downs. One of the most remarkable of the latter tracts has been called the Fairfield Downs, from its picturesque character and natural advantages of wood, water, and luxuriant herbage; the district being irrigated by the Isis and other tributary streams of the Awatere, which at this point of its sea-bound course takes a sudden bend to the south-westward. Some miles above the ford at Fairfield Downs the river is joined by a considerable stream, running from a high dark mass of castellated crags, and after passing some remarkable needle rocks, flows in a direct course through a narrow plain some five miles long, with an even breadth of half-a-mile. Small rounded hills, with bare rocks peering through their grassy sward, are ranged at either side as regularly as if placed there by a surveyor; " and such," says Mr. Weld, " is the artificial and street-like appearance of the place, that I could hardly divest myself of the idea that I was looking up a long vista of some grass-grown remains of Cyclopean architecture." The view is closed by a conical peak, at whose base the river divides into two branches. Near this point, amidst an array of fantastically-shaped rocks, there is one of a steeple-like formation, consisting of a solid block of stone, rising from the plain to a height of about fifty feet. The well-grassed valley of this stream seems central between the Kaikoras and the inland ranges of Mongatere.

The mountains of the Kaikora ranges here bear evident traces of volcanic action, and among the lower ridges, on ground covered with yellow or reddish dust, glittering with mica, quartz, and feldspar, or again presenting the appearance of a deserted brick-field, there is the greenest and most luxuriant vegetation, whilst the dark-coloured scorious and basaltic rocks rise in every describable and indescribable form of dome, and spire, and minaret.

The opposite inland ranges are of a more rounded and massive form, generally presenting bare summits, covered with small pieces of freestone, like a macadamized road; at their base the vegetation is good, but not luxuriant. The valley of the Awatere has a communication with that of the *Waiau River*, by means of the *Tuakuku River*, which pierces the inland range, and joins the latter from the northward. A beautiful grassy plain lies at each side of the Waiau-ua River; from thence to the *Hurunui River* the track of downs and valleys is, in the opinion of Mr. Weld, the finest he has seen in either island, and for the greater part not inferior for sheep farming.

The general character of the coast line of hills from Hurunui to Double Corner is bold and rounded, occasionally limestone, but oftener of clay, gravelly, or sandy formation. The vegetation throughout is exceedingly rich, and though in many places rather rough, and not capable at present of being very heavily stocked, it is generally a clean wool-growing country, with a great variety of herbs and grasses, apparently little affected by the seasons.

The country watered by the Waiau-ua and Hurunui is described by Mr. Hamilton as consisting of two plains, the latter about twenty-five miles long by fifteen broad, contains 242,000 acres; while that of the Waiau-ua is, according to the natives, double this size, or 484,000 acres, all level, so remarkably so indeed as to look, hemmed in as it is by hills and mountains, like the dry bed of some lake. Grass of the finest description abounds everywhere on these plains, generally knee deep, but in many places on the banks of streams or soft ground, breast high. The few swampy patches are covered with luxuriant grass. The soil on the banks of the rivers was deep, of excellent quality, and fit for putting the plough into at any moment. About one-third, either from swampiness or having been covered by a considerable depth of gravel in some great flood, is at present only suited for keeping sheep and cattle. The Waiau is only separated from the Hurunui at its head by a low rise, and is consequently easily accessible to drays.

From the Hurunui Plain to Double Corner a succession of low limestone ranges, alternating with sandstone, extend from the coast, and in lines parallel to it, to a distance of ten or twelve miles inland. These ranges lie close together, are somewhat abrupt, and abound in deep water-courses, and excellent keep for sheep. Towards the coast the gullies are wooded; but nowhere on the hill sides, except in deep sheltered glens, is wood to be seen. On the mountains, however, rimu (red pine), totara, kahikatea (white pine), matai (black pine), and towkai (or black birch) [a beech], are in abundance.

At the north-east foot of Mount Maukatere is the picturesque grassy plain of the Waipara, about fifteen miles long by eight miles broad, and containing some 70,000 acres.

In concluding his report, Mr. Hamilton estimates the actual amount of land between Double Corner and Kaikora Peninsula, taking the mountain range on the west of Hurunui and south-west of Waiau as a boundary, at 1,500,000 acres, divided as follows:—

| | | Acres. |
|---|---|---|
| Plain—Waipara | about | 76,000 |
| „ Waikare | „ | 38,000 |
| „ Hurunui | „ | 240,000 |
| „ Waiau-ua | „ | 480,000 |
| Undulating land and downs | | 100,000 |
| | | 934,000 |
| Leaving for rugged country, but good for sheep-runs | | 566,000 |

The next great block beyond, from Kaikora peninsula to Kowiniwini is by the sketch nearly of the same extent; but as it may be much broken, I will attempt only an estimate of that adjoining the Waiautoa, to which, from its size, I may fairly allow a course of fifty-six or sixty miles, with an average breadth of ten miles available land on its banks.

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| This would give about | 358,000 |
| And allowing for broken country suited for sheep, one-third | 152,000 |
| | 510,000 |
| | 1,500,000 |
| Total, with last block | 2,010,000 |

The Canterbury District and Country to the Southward.—The tract selected by the Canterbury Settlement comprises Banks' Peninsula, and the greater part of an extensive plain, or series of plains, which, commencing a few miles to the southward of the forty-third parallel, extend along the eastern coast in a south-westerly direction for about a hundred and fifty miles, having a breadth in the centre of about fifty miles, which diminishes at either end. The land has a very gradual rise towards the interior of the island, and also to the southward: at Taumutu, near Lake Waihora, the surface is not more than eight feet above the sea-level, but at the Hakatere or Ashburton river, (the south-west boundary of the Canterbury Settlement,) it has a height of thirty to forty feet.

Several rapid and shallow rivers rise in the snowy mountains which form the inland boundary of this extensive tract, and flow by nearly direct courses to the sea; the most important of these are the *Ashley*, the *Waimakiriri* or *Courtenay*, the *Waikirikiri* or *Selwyn*, the *Rakaia* or *Cholmondely*, the *Wanganui* or *Wynne*, the *Hakatere* or *Ashburton*, and the *Rangitata*. Timber is only found in small isolated clumps, and with the important difference of having probably been recently covered by the waters of the ocean—the great southern plain of New Zealand resembles in some points the immense prairies of North and South America.

Of the Canterbury District, the northern portion is distinguished as the Wilberforce Plain, the central as the Sumner Plain, and the south-western as the Whately Plain; the eastern is occupied by Banks' Peninsula, whose rugged heights (sometimes attaining an elevation of 3,000 feet) and densely-wooded surface, form a striking contrast to the level and open country in its vicinity. It has been before stated that Mr. Tuckett, when engaged in exploring the Middle Island for a suitable site on which to plant a Scottish colony, examined and rejected this district (*vide* p. 245), of which he has furnished me with the following description:—

"Banks' Peninsula is mountainous, its summits are frequently hidden in the clouds for many successive days, and like other mountainous peninsulas, it has a disagreeable climate—gales of wind and heavy rains being frequent. The near vicinity of immense mountain masses to the north of it, and the long, low, and dreary intervening plain which affords no shelter, renders it a very unattractive locality. There is some good upland pasture about Port Cooper, especially on its southern shore; the rest of the peninsula (which comprises, in all, an area of about 250,000 acres,) is, for the most part, wooded, but it is rather bush land than forest. A steep and lofty ridge, 2,000 feet in altitude, intervenes between Port Cooper and the plain, whose northern and western slopes afford good pasture for sheep; that on the plain itself is very inferior, the grass growing only in isolated tufts—a narrow frontage to the north excepted, which affords a limited quantity of fertile land suitable for enclosure and cultivation. Around the Waihora Lake is a vast extent of swamp filled with a dense growth of bull-rushes; if any portion of this can be hereafter drained, it will prove far more valuable for occupation than the rest of the plain, three-fourths of which is irremediably arid and sterile. On the banks of a few of these rivers there is a little fertile land. Such spots are favourite residences of the natives, for the advantages they afford for the cultivation of potatoes as well as for fishing."

In July, 1851, at the meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science, Mr. Tuckett declared that the vast plain was for the most part too arid and stony, or too wet and swampy, to be eligible for occupation, adding—

"There is but a very limited quantity of fertile land good enough for tillage, within a distance of twenty miles of either of the harbours of Banks' Peninsula. The surfaces of plains in New Zealand usually present a succession of terraces in lines parallel with the courses of the rivers, rising in steps of from six to fourteen feet in elevation. Much

of the surface is desolated by a closely-imbedded boulder and shingle; and usually where these occur of the greatest breadth, and where there is a dead level, the surface is the most stony. On the hill lands of Banks' Peninsula there is good pasture; but it is not so on the plain."

Several points in the above account derive confirmation from a trigonometrical survey and topographical delineation of a "part of the Canterbury Settlement," issued by the Canterbury Association in 1851, but unaccompanied by any descriptive notes. From this it would appear that between the site of the embryo town of Lyttelton and the estuary into which the Avon disembogues, there is a tract of sand-hills and swamp four miles long, by three to four miles broad; to the north of Lyttelton is a swamp of five to six square miles, mostly dry in summer, and to the south-east of the town there are also extensive swamps, stretching as far as Lake Waihora, and tracts covered with "raupo," flax, and rushes: to the east and north-east are the open Sumner Plains of grass and fern. Sand-hills and swamp stretch all along the coast from the mouth of the *Avon* to that of the *Ashley River*, a distance of more than twenty miles; these tracts are three to five miles wide, and contain only here and there patches of grass and fern. Between the Courtenay and Ashley, a distance of fifteen miles, at ten miles from the coast, in what is termed the Mandeville District, there is another swampy tract about twelve miles long, by ten broad, mostly dry in summer, and with a few patches of flax and grass, and manuka scrub. This district is intersected by the *Cust* and *Eyre* rivers, which disembogue into the above mentioned swamp, whose southern boundary is an anastomosing branch of the *Courtenay River*. The settlers have chiefly selected their lands within five miles around the town of Lyttelton, which has been laid out in a plain called Christchurch, about six miles in a direct line from the sea, and five miles from Banks' Peninsula. The site of the town occupies an area of one square mile, and is surrounded by a space reserved for a park varying in breadth from a quarter to half-a-mile. The Avon river, or rather creek, flows through the town from south-west to north-east, and is navigable for boats throughout, to its mouth in the lagoon on the north of Banks' Peninsula. The banks are five to twenty feet in height, the waters cool and clear, and the rise and fall during rain and drought not more than two feet. A road, including a bridge and sea-wall, necessary to connect the port with the town of Lyttelton, a distance of about eleven miles, is now being formed; it is estimated that it will cost more than a thousand guineas per mile. The most expensive portion is over the Port Lyttelton mountains, where the gradient is one in nineteen over an ascent of two miles in distance.

At the Port, a jetty, store, and about fifty cottages have been erected; at the Town nothing worthy of note has yet been done.

About 25,000 acres of land have been sold by the Association; twenty ships have been despatched to the settlement, containing 3,500 emigrants, of whom about three-fourths were of the labouring class, and the expenditure of the Association has been already not less than £100,000, including £25,000 borrowed from the New Zealand Company.

The soil of the surrounding portion of the plain, where not swampy or shingly, is a sandy loam, with a sub-soil of sandy clay; the vegetation grass, flax, and fern; and there is little if any timber adapted for building purposes within reach. The settlers must therefore make bricks to build their houses, or construct them of clay, or possibly of stone, until wood can be cheaply obtained by importation.

Opinions very different to those of Mr. Tuckett, have been entertained by other authorities, respecting the eligibility and attractiveness of the Canterbury district. Captain Stokes, R.N. (the surveying officer of H.M.S *Acheron*), has expressed himself in general, but very favourable terms respecting the plain, as also with regard to the undisputed merits of the port; so also have Bishop Selwyn; Messrs. Fox, Mantell, Hamilton, and Weld; Mr. Thomas, the chief surveyor, despatched by the Association, to prepare for the reception of emigrants, reported to his employers, in May 1849, that, although like all extensive districts, portions of it were of inferior quality, but a very small part was swampy, and much of the soil was well adapted for agricultural purposes; while the whole tract afforded excellent natural pasturage, and was well adapted for agricultural purposes. In a report of a committee of the Canterbury colonists in New Zealand, made in 1850, with reference to pasture regulations, statements are set forth which agree with those of Mr. Thomas:—

"The whole country comprised within the bounds

of the Canterbury Settlement is peculiarly adapted to the purposes of grazing and the depasture of cattle and sheep; not so much by reason of its extent, which to a certain degree is limited, but from the peculiar features of the country — the richness and fertility of its soil, its extent of level land, its temperate climate, and its abundant supply of water by the innumerable rivers and water-courses by which it is intersected.

"The high lands and mountain slopes by which it is enclosed, and which extend the whole length of the colony, from Double Corner at the north-east, to the southernmost part of the settlement, being highly fitted for sheep stations, whilst those large tracts of country which lie at the foot of the mountains are of a flat and slightly undulating character, and afford pasturage of the best description, as well for the breeding and propagation of cattle, as the maintenance of sheep, and being open land, free from woods and bush, highly productive of herbage and well watered, are equally well calculated for agricultural purposes, when occasion shall require them."

The appearance of the district, even judging from the description of one of its warmest advocates, Mr. Godley, the resident agent, can scarcely, however, be deemed inviting; writing in August, 1850, he says:—

"To the eye there are but two features—a range of mountains thirty or forty miles distant, and a vast grassy plain (the colour of which, as seen from a distance, is not green, but rather that of hay,) stretching from the sea towards them, as far as the eye can reach, without any inequality, and almost without any variety of surface; for streams, though numerous, are not large, and they are sunk between very steep banks; and the patches of wood are, unfortunately, both rare and small. The grass on the plain is intermixed with fern and flax."

South of the great plain, lies the undulating country of *Timaru*, which is described, as having a very promising appearance; still further southward, beyond a small stream called the Waihao, a grassy plain of five or six miles in width, extends between the coast and a low ridge called the *Cheviot Hills*, which continue to approach the sea, until they terminate in an open plain, watered by the Waitangi or Waitaki, described by Bishop Selwyn as being forty or fifty miles in length, and twelve in width, and stretching east and west, without a tree or shrub.* The grass near the mouth of the river is of an inferior description, but as the stream is ascended, the soil improves.

At *Moreaki*, or *Moerangi Bay*, in latitude about 45° 30′, a tract of country extends for ten miles north and south of the native village of Moeraki, which is described by Mr. Tuckett as a beautiful and fertile district, replete with advantages for the site of a settlement; affording a gently undulating surface, a rich deep soil, abundance of luxuriant pasture and flax land, and frequent streams, not torrents, of fresh water. The woodland is conveniently dispersed, comprising timber of the best description, (the *mai*, or black pine, being especially plentiful), enough, but not too much for the facilities of occupation. Good building-stone, brick-earth, materials for cement, and coal, are also obtainable, and but for the subsequent discovery of a still larger tract of equally promising country, the Scottish settlement would have been established here.

Between Moeraki and Otago, a distance of forty miles, there are some fertile valleys divided by hilly ridges, almost equally good. At Waikouati, there is a Wesleyan mission station; Mr. Jones, an enterprising whaler, merchant, and farmer, resides there, and successfully cultivates a considerable quantity of wheat land; several other English settlers are likewise engaged in agricultural pursuits.

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Otago, and the Southern extremity of the Middle Island.—The Otago block or district comprises an area of 400,000 acres,† extending from 45° 50′ to 46° 20′ S. lat. It has a good ship harbour (the only one between Banks' Peninsula and Foveaux Strait, a distance of nearly 300 miles), abundance of unwooded fertile land, open grassy pastures, interspersed with an adequate supply of timber; a navigable inland water communication, running up the centre of the block for nearly its entire length, and rich land, remarkably well watered on either side of it. To the westward, stretching away to the far distant Snowy Mountains, which border the opposite coast, is an immense sheep walk, open to the farmer and flock owner.

* *Church in the Colonies*, Part iii., p. 14.

† Of this block the settlement, according to the prospectus issued in November, 1847, comprises 144,600 acres of land, divided into 2,400 "properties," each "property" consisting of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three allotments, namely:—a town allotment of a quarter of an acre, a suburban allotment of ten acres, and a rural allotment of fifty acres. The sum to be raised on these "properties" at 40s. an acre, would amount to £289,200, of which three-eighths, or £108,450, was to be employed in emigration; two-eighths, or £72,300, to be employed by the New Zealand Company, in founding the settlement, and contingent expenses; one-eighth, or £36,150, to be appropriated to religious and educational uses; and two-eighths, or £72,300, to be appropriated to the New Zealand Company. Nothing like this amount of land had, however, been disposed of at the close of 1850, or in June, 1851.

Though two degrees south of Banks' Peninsula, the climate is as mild, if not milder, in consequence of the greater distance of the "Southern Alps," and the less exposed nature of the country. The natives are few in number, and well disposed to Europeans, who find in them intelligent and useful coadjutors. With all these natural advantages, so rarely combined, with building materials and coal readily available, the Scottish settlement, formed and zealously promoted by a Presbyterian Association, composed of men of high character, (among whom the celebrated Dr. Chalmers took a leading part,) and established by a small, but worthy band of honest and energetic pioneers, led by Captain Cargill, and their minister, the Rev. Thomas Burns,—has made but little progress. The pernicious effects of the selfish policy pursued by the New Zealand Company, (with whom the Otago Association unhappily connected themselves,) were never more fully exemplified. Undeterred by the mortifying results which had attended the fixing of a ruinously high price for waste land, and the disgraceful "town acre" lottery system, with its attendant jobbery, delusion, and disappointments, both at Wellington and at Nelson, they raised the price of land, which had been 20*s*. per acre, at the former, and 30*s*. at the latter place, to 40*s*. at Otago, and planned the town on their usual exaggerated scale; thus at the outset, excluding the very class of small farmers, for whom the settlement was peculiarly adapted, and making the progress of the town contingent upon the efforts of a large and wealthy population. The effect of these two fundamental errors, not to mention many minor ones, is manifest. The Otago Association, at the close of November, 1850, "owing to a combination of adverse circumstances which have retarded their progress,"* had disposed of no more than 18,000 acres out of the 144,000 comprised in the settlement, and the number of persons who had embarked thither direct from the United Kingdom, amounted only to 1,400.

By the latest accounts, the town, which is called Dunedin (the Celtic name for Edinburgh), comprises about 150 habitations, most of which are constructed of wood, or clay, and roofed with shingle: the streets which have been laid out, are sixty-six feet wide, but they are neither gravelled, drained, or lighted; and within the civic boundaries, there is about one dwelling to five or six acres. The Scottish kirk is a commodious wooden structure, there is also a manse and school-house. Sites for the markets and public buildings have been reserved in the principal streets. The positition of Dunedin is extremely picturesque; it stands at the head of the harbour, and is intended to occupy the whole water frontage, and stretch for some distance inland; but the chief part of the existing habitations are built between two small hills, in a thoroughfare called Princes-street, which runs in a continuous line, north and south, through the town. Lofty hills form the background of the town and harbour, wooded to their summits, and are said to afford "a very rich soil of dark vegetable mould, in some places several feet in thickness."†

*Port Chalmers*, where all ships are obliged to discharge their cargoes, is situated midway between Dunedin and the Heads, that is, about seven miles from either extremity of Otago Harbour; a small, but thriving community is established here. Eighty suburban sections have been chalked out, and about a hundred more, in a line between Port Chalmers and Dunedin.

From the *Otago News*, the only newspaper published in the settlement, it would appear that the colonists complain of the want of proper provision on the part of the Company, especially in the non-formation of roads, which has prevented the land-purchasers from settling on the rural portion of their "properties," and induced them to expend their little all within the narrow limits of their suburban section. (*Otago News*, April, 1850.)

A settler, (whose name is not given,) in a letter published in the *Otago Journal*, likewise complains that the roads being "merely formed out of the soil, are more like canals of liquid mud and clay in winter, than any thing else;" and after adverting to the heavy drain upon the capital of the infant settlement, consequent upon its dependence on other colonies for supplies of provisions, he adds, with perfect truth, "were facilities given to the labouring men to cultivate the ground, this would soon be at an end."

Since the above was written, a drag road

* Vide *Otago Journal*, published in Edinburgh by the Otago Association.

† Vide letter from the Rev. Thomas Burns, published in the *Otago Journal* for November 1848.

has been formed from Dunedin to "Scrogg's Creek," on the Taieri river, and other improvements have been made to facilitate communication in the vicinity of the town, which it must be remembered was only established at the commencement of 1848.

The following observations respecting the physical features, and soil of various parts of the Otago district, are given in small type to save space:—

The soil is described by the Rev. Thomas Burns, as a strong, rich, yellowish clay, containing generally a small mixture of sand, with a covering from three or four inches to a spade's depth of black vegetable mould; but all appears to be excellent wheat soil, calculated to bear a long succession of cropping with little or no manure. In many places the clay passes into a strong, fine, reddish-coloured earth. The open, as well as the fern-land, does not produce well until turned up and exposed to the sun and air; but the bush-land bears admirably the first year. — *Otago Journal*, 1849, p. 69.

To the west of the town, separated from it by some grassy hills, is the Kakarai valley, a tract of open land, with a rich alluvial soil apparently well adapted for agriculture. The Taieri River enters the sea about twenty miles to the southward of Otago Harbour, and for the first five miles from its mouth, is confined within lofty and precipitous hills, with barely sufficient distance between them to afford it a channel; beyond this the valley suddenly opens, and the river branches, leading to the Waihola Lake, or lagoon, on the south, and passing through the bulk of the valley, on the north, which is said to contain about 40,000 acres, of which two-thirds are available for cultivation, and one-third swampy, but drainable.

At the head of Waihola Lake, where a landowner named Valpy, who has greatly benefitted the settlement by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money in labour and improvements, has a farming establishment, and a sheep and cattle-station—the country consists of undulating downs, round topped, and covered with grass and herbage of various descriptions; but this tract, like the Taieri Plain, is somewhat deficient in wood.

The Tokomariro Plain is quite level for fifteen miles, and is estimated to comprise an area of 14,000 acres. To the eastward, hills with a breadth of seven miles, extend to the coast; to the north lies the portage of six miles, between the Tokomariro and the Waihola Lake; to the westward, undulating prairies of great extent, said to be available for cattle and sheep three parts of the year.—*Otago Journal*, 1848, p. 12.

There is no formidable obstacle to prevent the formation of a road from this plain to the Rakitoto Lake, or lagoon, which is about eighteen miles from the mouth of the Molyneux River. This lagoon is about six miles long, and distant about twelve miles from that of Waihola.

The Tokomariro and Taieri Plains are separated by a mountainous and difficult tract, from the valley through which the fine river Matau, or Molyneux, takes its course. This valley or plain is described by Dr. Munro as containing from ten to twenty thousand acres of undoubtedly good land, covered with a fine growth of grass, flax, &c., interspersed with a fair sprinkling of wood. The landscape he mentions as "altogether one of great beauty and unusually rich softness."

According to Mr. Tuckett, "The river Matau (Molyneux), inland, just below a place called Twikitea, is separated into two branches by a narrow island about ten miles in length. The lake the natives call Kari Tongato, the western branch of the river Koau; it has the deepest channel. About twenty miles inland, above Twikitea, on the river Matau, is the Kunna-Kunna station, a fishery resorted to by the natives at particular seasons, when the fish so named ascend the river in vast quantities from the ocean. Lampreys also enter the Matau, the Waikauwa, and other rivers in the south, at certain seasons of the year, and ascend far inland, managing to surmount both falls and rapids; at such obstacles they link themselves in chain, and the hindmost probably propel the foremost.

"South of the Matau there is a tract of large forest on lofty and rugged hills, which the natives are afraid to enter, alleging that great, hairy, and very strong men, who do not speak, inhabit the wooded mountain. They call them *Miroroi*, and say that they can easily carry off a man. There is, perhaps, some foundation for the fear, and the supposition which is probably traditionary, for there may have been, at no very remote period, gigantic apes, as well as gigantic birds, in the country."

Bishop Selwyn, in describing the Otago District, says—

"Cape Saunders, Pikiwara (Saddle Hill), and the ridge near Dunedin, appear to have been upheaved by volcanic action, through the great alluvial plain which forms the eastern face of the Middle Island, and of which the Taieri and Matau (Molineux) districts, over which the sections of the Dunedin settlers are spread, form a part. The fault of this settlement is dispersion, its advantage will be the range of down-like hills which open to the southward, sometimes of great height, but often of small size, with flattened tops of uniform elevation, as if a sea of lava in a state of wavy motion had been cooled under the pressure of a solid plane resting equally upon it; or, to use a simpler description, as if a dish of rolls in an oven had been baked with a tray lying on the top of them. This wavy country is considered to be admirably adapted for sheep pastures. The want of firewood will be the chief inconvenience at the sheep stations in this island; but Otakou (Otago) itself is abundantly supplied from the wooded banks of the river."—(*Visitation Tour*, 1848, p. 114.)

Colonel Wakefield likewise expressed a high opinion of the capabilities of this district, and draws a comparison between it and Port Cooper decidedly favourable to Otago, stating forcibly enough, in one of his reports to the directors of the New Zealand Company, that:—

"At Port Cooper, half of the labourers' time would be consumed in bringing fuel from a distance from any suitable site for a settlement; and it may be safely asserted, that a section of fifty acres there would not pay the cost of fencing, and building on it, in the course of the owner's life. The neighbourhood of Otago is on the contrary, essentially, as was

observed to me by a labouring man from Nelson, a poor man's country—containing good land and plenty of wood."

At Tokato Point, the southern boundary of the Otago District, a range of lofty hills stretches inland, which affords shelter from the cold southerly winds. An opening occurs in this hill range about fifteen miles from the coast, which presents an easy route, along fertile land, to Tuturau, a native village, on the river Mataura, and thence to the Waropai, the east branch of the New River, or Eurete, which flows into Foveaux Strait.

The country westward of the Molyneux River (watered by the Mataura, the Eurete, or New River, and the Aparima, or Jacob's River), was traversed by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Spencer, of H.M.S. *Acheron*, in 1850. They consider it to offer peculiar advantages for the formation of an extensive settlement, and state that the plain which stretches eastward from the latter-named stream, comprises at least 600,000 acres of rich soil, clothed with fine grass, and with timber, everywhere very equally distributed. Eastward of this plain, a chain of densely-wooded hills, before mentioned, extends as far as Molyneux District, having, towards the sea, an elevation of about 2,000 feet. Inland, however, the hills gradually decrease in height, and the masses of forest disappear altogether, giving place to the finest pasturage. The absence of timber may possibly be compensated by peat or turf, of which there are some indications in a valley little more than half-way between Toturau and the Mataura River. At Toturau the soil is extremely rich; and the potatoes grown there, by a single resident Maori family, exceed in bulk those brought by Bishop Selwyn from the Chatham Islands, which were nine inches each way. The climate is very equable, though rather wet towards the sea coast. Snow rarely lies on the low land: ice was occasionally seen between 15th March and 1st June, when the thermometer ranged from 40° to 60° Fah.; on a few occasions the mercury was at 32° Fah.: the wind veered from north-west to south-west.—(*Vide* Report of Messrs. Hamilton and Spencer, given in a letter from Captain Stokes to Lieutenant-governor Eyre, dated Wellington, 1st September, 1850.)

At the same period, Captain Stokes, R.N., examined the sea-board from Otago to Preservation Harbour, a distance of 220 miles, and found only four roadsteads and one intermediate port. Of twenty-three rivers in this extent of coast line, he states that but four are available for small vessels; and only two—the Waikawa and Omaui, or New River, for ships of from three to four hundred tons. The latter "was ascended in a whale-boat for near thirty miles, in a north-half-east general direction. In that distance the land rose gradually 200 feet, by three steppes, each change of elevation being attended by corresponding and somewhat dangerous rapids. The depth of water varied from two to eight feet; the width from 50 to 100 yards. The soil, on either bank, consisted of a rich mould, and appeared clothed with trees or verdant pasture, as the stream wound through clumps of wood, or swept across the open plain." This river Captain Stokes considers highly important, from its vicinity to Bluff Harbour, (from whose head waters it is separated only by a portage of half-a-mile,) and its connexion with the extensive tract so favourably described by Messrs. Hamilton and Spencer. Captain Stokes says, his first view of this "prairie land" was from the summit of the Bluff, a basaltic hill of 855 feet high, from whence the plain appeared stretching between south-east and north-west, in the shape of a bishop's mitre, measuring full 100 miles: isolated patches of woodland were agreeably dotted over its surface; and a range of rugged, snow-clad mountains, the highest of which (distant eighty miles, and 6,700 feet in altitude) he named the Eyre, terminated the extensive landscape. In conclusion, he expresses himself strongly on the advantages offered by the land in the vicinity of Bluff Harbour for a settlement, adding, that it has one peculiar to itself—namely, that it is fully a fortnight nearer to England than any other portion of New Zealand now under colonization.

A paper containing the above statements respecting the south-eastern extremity of the Middle Island, was read at the meeting of the British Association before referred to. Mr. Tuckett dissented from the opinions expressed of its eligibility for colonization, on the following grounds:—

"Having had occasion to examine carefully the district described, I can fully confirm the accuracy of the observations in respect to the vast extent of available surface which exists south of Tuturau and the Mataura river to the shore of Foveaux Straits; between the Eurete or New River and the Aparima westward, as also to the east Eurete. I cannot,

however, concur in recommending it as a district eligible for a settlement. Instead of its affording good pasture for grazing or fertile soil for husbandry, in my judgment the surface is rather nude, and the vegetation, chiefly large, detached bunches of a very coarse sharp-edged junk. Where the banks of the Aparima and Eurete are wooded, I found chiefly the totara and the manuka growing luxuriantly, but in deep sand; whilst those portions of the gently undulated uplands which are wooded would afford, almost exclusively, varieties of the birch, which abounds and attains great dimensions even on the poorest land. The earth presents a surface of a whitish hue when dry, without mould or humus, being a deep and gritty clay (as I found by frequent digging), which I am convinced would not bear any adequate crop without being first well manured. Between the east and west branches of the river Eurete the land is low and sandy. Eastward to the coast is a vast bed of fine quartz gravel covered with heather and luxuriant mosses; and in some places peat occurs of pretty good quality and considerable depth. There is good timber at the western extremity of Bluff Harbour, and between it and the river Eurete some extent of bush land, in and around which a herd of cattle finds sufficient pasture, but feeding chiefly on the milk thistle, &c. There is a small community of Europeans at the Bluff and at the Aparima, who have intermarried with the natives, and who, pursuing whaling, sealing, and husbandry, and in a few instances stock-keeping, have attained to very comfortable circumstances. Some were in the practice of growing wheat, but they informed me that the climate was unfavourable, rains being frequent and copious, and the gales of wind boisterous. While my vessel lay at anchor in the Eurete in the month of May we had to encounter, in the surveys executed and on our several exploratory journeys, very inclement weather. Considering then the climate, the soil, and the natural growth, I am convinced that there is no very eligible site for a future settlement south of the Mataura river and Tu-tu-rau; a favourite residence of the natives formerly, when they were more numerous, because it afforded shelter from the southern climate, good fishing, and fertile land. From Tu-tu-rau north to Otokau there is an unbroken tract of fertile and well-watered land, affording abundant pasture and much of it of excellent quality for tillage. It abounds with supplies of coal, wood, timber, brick-earth, stone, conveniently dispersed through the district and very accessible by the facilities of inland navigation which its rivers and lakes afford."—*Athenæum*, July, 1851.

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New Leinster, Rakiura, or Stewart Island.—The southernmost of the New Zealand group, derives its usual appellation of Stewart Island from the master of a trading vessel, who, in 1816, discovered its insularity, and named the strait which divides it from the Middle Island "Foveaux," which appellation it still retains.

The strait is about fifteen miles wide from north to south, seventy miles from east to west, and has at some seasons the aspect of a tranquil arm of the sea, with numerous islets dotting the space between shore and shore. The largest of these, named *Ruapuke,* lies at the south-east entrance of the strait, and is about five miles long and five broad. It is very picturesque, containing all the characteristic features of New Zealand in miniature; native villages, woods, swamps, hills, lakes, bays, and rocky headlands. The island has about 200 aboriginal inhabitants. Mr. Wohler, a German missionary, has been established there since 1844, and his labours have greatly benefitted the natives residing there, and also at Stewart Island and Bluff Harbour. A Mr. Kelly also lives at Ruapuke, and is described as an intelligent and successful colonist; his Maori wife is a good and religious woman; and he has a fine family of promising children. The climate of this little island is humid, but extremely mild; so much so, that frost sufficient to wither the hulm of a potato is there unknown. The navigation of Foveaux Strait has been facilitated by the recent surveys of Captain Stokes, to whose meritorious labours on the shores of Australia frequent reference has been made in vol. ii. of this work.

Stewart Island is of a triangular form, the apex bearing due south: its length from north to south is about fifty miles, and its greatest breadth from north-west to south-east is about the same. The area is estimated at 1,400 square miles = 896,000 acres; the highest altitude is about 3,200 feet. The west coast runs nearly due north and south for about fifty miles; the south-east shore along Foveaux Strait extends for about sixty miles, and the southern shore for about forty miles.

The 47th parallel of latitude and the 168th of longitude, intersect the island. The coast-line, according to Captain Stokes, is strangely distorted in the charts now in use, the south coast excepted, which was laid down by Captain Cook with his accustomed accuracy.

The shores are very pleasing, woods feathering down to the water's edge, and noble bays indenting the coast at short intervals, with rocky points, interspersed with brushwood, between them.

Paterson river, the chief stream in the island, disembogues in the strait, a little north of the 47th parallel; the harbour at its mouth, called *Port Somes,* is very extensive, has many bays and coves, is easy of access, convenient for heaving down, affords good shelter, and is surrounded by fine timber. There are several British adventurers residing here on a narrow tongue of land,

most of them have married native women, and some have lived twenty years in these solitudes. These men have clearly a claim to the land in right of their wives and children,* and in consideration of their own industry and enterprise. Their small clearings exhibit a fertile though shallow soil, and they have a small amount of stock. The valley of the Paterson river extends east and west across the island, to the northward of it the country is mountainous, and affords but little available land; to the southward it is more level and promising. The coast between Port Somes and *Pegasus Bay* or *Southern Port* presents a remarkable similarity in its general features, in the structure, elevation, and composition of its rocks, in the frequent serratures of its surface, and the varieties of trees growing on it, to the shores of the far-distant extremity of the North Island.

*Pegasus Bay* is a noble harbour, situated a little to the east of South Cape, of which, about three leagues distant, are some dangerous rocks, named by Cook, the Traps or Snares.

The temperature is described as less cold, even in mid-winter, than might be expected from its high southerly latitude, and the number of parroquets flying about give the island almost a tropical appearance. Mr. Tuckett also speaks of the climate as "far more eligible than that of any place on the northern shore of Foveaux Strait, on which during the inclement season, and at all seasons, are spent the fury of south-east and south-west gales, whose violence would appear to be increased rather than diminished by the proximity of an immense mountain region.

LAND IN CULTIVATION, AND LIVE STOCK.—This sketch of the topography of New Zealand may be concluded with the following statements of the land in cultivation, and the live stock owned, by Europeans, in the latest year of which there are returns, viz., in the New Munster province:—

| Settlements or Districts. | Acres in crop. | Horses. | Horned Cattle | Sheep. | Goats. | Pigs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wellington . | 860 | 672 | 6,786 | 35,507 | 1,111 | 2,008 |
| Petre . . . | 10 | 67 | 886 | 582 | 178 | 15 |
| Nelson . . | 3,069 | 234 | 3,540 | 37,699 | 5,353 | 3,239 |
| Akaroa . . | 329 | 16 | 679 | 4,396 | 310 | 627 |
| Otago . . . | 53 | 103 | 781 | 7,731 | 206 | 1,035 |
| Total . | 4,321 | 1,062 | 20,672 | 85,915 | 7,158 | 6,924 |

*Note.*—This does not include cultivation or live stock among the Maories. The Wellington returns include the flocks and herds in the Wairarapa District, and the Nelson those depastured in the Wairau and Kaikora Districts.

In New Ulster cultivation and stock, in 1849, was—

| Settlements or Districts. | Number of Acres in Crop. | | | | | | | | | | Stock. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wheat. | Oats. | Barley. | Maize. | Potatoes. | Turnips. | Grass. | Garden. | Pasture | Total in crop. | Horses. | Horned Cattle. | Sheep. | Goats. |
| Auckland . . | 214 | 588 | 205 | 26 | 775 | 8 | — | 320 | 4,054 | 6,193 | 698 | 6,955 | 1,701 | 275 |
| Russell . . . | 120 | — | 20 | 300 | 150 | — | 60 | — | — | 650 | 52 | 500 | 1,000 | 250 |
| Waimate . . | 200 | — | 4 | 200 | 150 | — | 500 | — | — | 1,054 | 150 | 1,200 | 1,200 | 50 |
| Hokianga . . | 300 | — | — | 150 | 300 | — | — | — | — | 750 | 150 | 370 | 20 | 170 |
| Manganui . Waingaroa, & Kaitaia . . | 466 | 4 | 5 | 650 | 1,800 | 450 | 250 | — | — | 3,632 | 210 | 765 | 1,253 | 89 |
| New Plymouth | 914 | 68 | 116 | 4 | 175 | 99 | 529 | 55 | 783 | 2,748 | 53 | 904 | 1,443 | 66 |
| Total . | 2,214 | 660 | 350 | 1,530 | 3,350 | 557 | 1,879 | 375 | 4,837 | 15,027 | 1,313 | 10,694 | 6,617 | 900 |

*Note.*—The number of acres of land uncultivated is put down for Auckland at 25,062; Manganui, Waingaroa, and Kaitaia, 508,368; New Plymouth, 27,523. The land of the other districts is not known.

The total number of acres of land granted in New Ulster to 1849, was 269,923, of which 6,427 acres were sold.

In New Munster, the grants have been, to the New Zealand Company, in Wellington, 209,247 acres; Porirua, 68,896; and in Nelson, the grant to the Company, under Mr. Commissioner Spain's award of 1844, "probably conveys more than three or four million acres: the quantity has, however, never been estimated, nor have the boundaries been surveyed. The scheme of the settlement only provided for the sale of 201,000 acres. The grant is understood to comprise all the lands in Blind and Massacre Bays, and all the lands sold by the Nga-ti-toa tribe to government, on the south side of the Strait, in 1847.—Blue Book for 1848; p. 55.

* When Bishop Selwyn visited Stewart Island in 1843–44, the whole English population in the neighbourhood of Paterson's River, Horse-shoe Bay, and Half-moon Bay (three beautiful harbours in the space of seven miles), assembled to meet him, comprising ten men, fourteen or fifteen native women, and twenty-five children. The men were all desirous of being married, and the bishop, after special inquiry, assented, and afterwards baptised seventeen of the children. At Murray's River, a small stream to the westward of Half-moon Bay, four other Englishmen were married to the Maori women, by whom they had already "a tribe of children," all of whom were cleanly and tidily dressed.

# CHAPTER III.

## GEOLOGY—FOSSIL BONES OF GIGANTIC BIRDS—SOIL, MINERALOGY, CLIMATE, AND DISEASES.

In this recently, and still but imperfectly explored country, the geologist can do little more than record isolated facts, and collect the materials by which, hereafter, the physical structure of these interesting islands, and the successive changes which have taken place in organic life, may be determined. The results of the investigations already made are most unexpected and important, and offer the highest encouragement to those who may emigrate to New Zealand to pursue the subject, and explore a field of research almost untrodden, and promising a rich harvest to the careful and intelligent observer.

The fundamental rocks of the Northern and Middle Island of New Zealand are composed, so far as has yet been ascertained, of metamorphic schists and clay slate, with dykes of greenstone and compact amygdaloidal basalt, intruded masses of obsidian, vesicular, and trachytic lavas, and other igneous products. Hornblende and porphyritic rocks, gneiss, and serpentine occur, but granite has been rarely observed. The Northern Island has, in its centre, a group of lofty volcanic mountains, already described as ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet in altitude, of which, however, one only (*Tongariro*) is now in igneous activity. In the Middle Island, a lofty range, covered with snow, and called the *Southern Alps*, passes from north-east to south-west, for about 500 miles; it is composed of schistose metamorphic rocks, flanked by volcanic grits, and covered at their base by alluvial deposits, which have evidently originated from the decay of trachytes and earthy lavas, and the detritus of the hard materials which entered into their composition.*

Jameson says, that the scenic character of New Zealand is such as might be supposed to have resulted from the simultaneous upheaving, by volcanic force, of argillaceous and basaltic rocks and mountains, which have been subsequently disintegrated and rounded off by the action of the elements. Rocks of the primitive and secondary classes are extensively found in some parts of New Zealand; and there is abundance of transition slate in the neighbourhood of Hokianga. Isolated masses of quartz occur in several places; but the predominant structure and aspect of the rocks and mountains mark them as belonging to the igneous classes denominated trap, basalt, and greywacke.†

The southern shore of the Waitemata, on which Auckland is situated, consists of cliffs of soft pepper-coloured sandstone, or sandstone conglomerate, with occasional seams of lignite. Several volcanic cones in the immediate neighbourhood furnish hard scoriæ for building and making roads. Between Waitemata and Manukao, a number of cones containing extinct volcanoes rise above the even table land. The coasts, in many places, exhibit recent sedimentary depositions placed horizontally; or terraces formed of loam and gravel, with fragments of wood, fern, &c., rise 50 to 100 feet above the ocean. The small rocky islands of trachyte, off the coast of the Northern Island, bear marks of the action of water to the height of 100 feet above the present sea level. In several places there are boulders of trap rocks, in terraces, 50 feet high.

The western shore of the estuary of the Thames differs widely in its aspect and geological structure from the shores of the peninsula of Shouraki. It presents to the waters of the frith a range of horizontal, stratified rocks of a clayey sandstone, which seems to have been softened by the influence of humidity, and is devoid of organic remains.‡

The country to the westward and northward of the Bay of Islands may be regarded as a volcanic table land. The hills around the Bay of Islands are formed of a yellow argillaceous stone, and a basaltic rock. The high land on the upper part of the Wairoa River (Kaipara) consists of a stiff, whitish clay, with, here and there, a basis of a hard

* See *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for August, 1850; p. 340.

† *New Zealand*, by R. G. Jameson, Esq., London, 1842; p. 244.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 305.

argillaceous slaty rock: lower down, on the left bank, are steep hillocks of basalt; on the right shore, and towards the sea coast, is a soft ferruginous sandstone; inside, and round the northern head, the cliffs expose layers of lignite, four feet in thickness, and superimposed to the height of about twenty feet, by a white, slightly consolidated sand, which softens by an exposure to the water, and, on a near examination, is found to consist of decomposed pumice stone, of which large globular boulders are still compact. The lignite consists of half carbonized wood. In some places, small carnelions, magnetic iron sand, and boulders of brown iron ore, are met with.*

At Manukao Harbour, the shore at the head of the haven is strewed over with hard basaltic lava and cellular scoriæ, which appear to have flowed from a cone on the southern shore. The cliffy, northern shore consists of stratified, greyish sandstone, or sandstone conglomerate. Proceeding towards the southward, pumice stone, mixed with sand, imbedded so as to form a pavement, is found near the Waikato River, down which pieces of black obsidian are conveyed from the volcanic Tongariro group. At Wangaroa, there are picturesque cliffs sixty feet high, composed of coarse-grained limestone, more or less crystalline, and containing several varieties of fossil shells. The head of the harbour consists of a bluish clay, without any organic remains: the southern shore is formed mostly of ferruginous sandstone. Basaltic rock, containing small grains of olivin, is seen at an arm of the harbour, which extends some distance inland. At Aotea, the hills which bound the harbour are composed of limestone.

The cone of Mount Egmont, which attains an altitude of 8,270 feet, consists of cinders, or slags of scoriaceous lava, of various colours—white, red, or brown; in some places reduced to a gravel. At 1,500 feet from the summit, where the snow commences, not a patch of soil exists where plants could take root. The summit of the mountain is a field of snow, of about a square mile in extent. Here and there were found protruding blocks of scoriæ, of a reddish-brown colour, some slightly vitrified on the surface. The vast cone (see map) is separated from the platform out of which it abruptly rises by a deep indentation, which descends laterally towards the sides of the mountains. The exterior cone appears to be a hard lava, of a bluish-grey colour, which resounds to the hammer like phonolite, or clink stone, and breaks into large tabular fragments. Dr. Dieffenbach, who first ascended Mount Egmont in 1839, remarks, that there seems to be a great scarcity of simple minerals in the principal rock of which this mountain is composed.

The west shore of Lake Taupo consists of black trachitic, or basaltic escarpments. Near the village of Te-rapa, gaseous effluvia seem to have converted the rock of the neighbouring hills, which is basalt, and occasionally amygdaloid, into a red or white clay, of a soft and alkaline nature, which the natives use instead of soap, and, according to Dr. Dieffenbach, sometimes eat.

The shore of the lake near Te-rapa, is of basalt, containing much augite. Some pieces are tabular, with a smooth surface. Smaller boulders are cemented together by the sediment of the springs, into a conglomerate, which has the appearance of an osseous breccia, from the imbedding of encrusted and polished white wood, and of rolled pieces of pumice-stone. The adjacent hot springs contain a great quantity of silex held in solution, less by the great heat than by the alkaline elements of the water. Stalagmitic efflorescences are formed from the solution, and all substances thrown into the water are quickly petrified; chalcedony is also deposited. In some of the springs are found sulphate of iron, and sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

The truncated cone of Tongariro, estimated at 6,200 feet in height, is described by Mr. Bidwell as composed entirely of heaps of loose cinders. This still active volcano is regarded as the centre of the modern igneous action of the Northern Island of New Zealand. Hot springs, fumeroles, and boiling mud pools are seen in every direction, and extend to the north-westward, to White Island, a smoking solfatara.

Various localities in the Northern Island bear manifest indications that frequent upheavements, and many convulsions must have alternately elevated and depressed the surface; at one period, allowing time for a stately growth of timber, then sinking it into the depths of the ocean, where, after the lapse of ages, the gradual deposit of mud attained a thickness of 100 feet, when another convulsion upheaved the whole; this terrific force frequently repeated, has shattered the whole country, and given the islands their singular form. The Rev. R.

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., pp. 269, 270.

Taylor is of opinion that the general framework of the New Zealand Islands is probably as ancient as that of other parts of the surface of the earth.*

The Sugar-loaf Islands, near New Plymouth, consist, with one exception, (which is of yellow and soft sandstone,) of steep and conical masses of a greyish trachyte, containing much felspar, with scarcely any vegetation on them. Towards Sugar-loaf Point, large boulders are found, consisting of volcanic rocks, of an old date, such as basalts, greenstones, trachyte, augitic rock, &c., cemented together into an extremely solid conglomerate, which appeared to Dr. Dieffenbach to extend like a stream of lava from Mount Egmont into the sea. In some places, the sandy downs, at a little distance from the shore, are covered with a hard crust of oxydated iron-clay, which forms fantastic shapes of tubes, saucers, &c., owing to the oxydation of the particles of iron in the sand, by water and air, and subsequent adhesion to each other. These and other appearances indicate that the volcanic powers of which Mount Egmont was the centre, have been formerly very active. On both sides of Sugar-loaf Point there are aqueous formations, consisting of cliffs of yellow clay, containing, in some places, the remains of trees, belonging to species still existing in the island, embedded in discoloured blackish earth.

Near the Urinui river, the cliffs on the sea shore are about 100 feet high; the lowest formation is a marly clay, in which is embedded protophosphate of iron, in small balls, of an earthy consistence; about twenty feet above the sea level, there is a formation of wood, very little altered or carbonized, and about ten feet in thickness; the superincumbent strata is a loam soil. Towards Mokau, the shore cliffs consist of a micaceous, soft, yellowish sandstone, which the sea and wind have moulded into many strange forms—here a fort, there a wall, a round tower, or a balcony crowned with shrubs. In some parts, large boulders of trap rock protrude out of the cliff, the soft deposition around having been washed away, thus giving the appearance of artificial excavations.

The coast-line of Tory Channel, towards its north entrance, shews everywhere argillaceous schist in stratifications from east to west, and dipping to the north: sometimes no stratifications are observable, and the rock is of a more granular nature, but still very soft, and with fissures in various directions, as if it had been acted upon by fire. No indications of any other kind of rock have been noticed in Cook Strait, except the occasional appearance of Lydian stone, massy basaltic rocks and greenstone. From the various transitions from one kind of rock to another, this structure would appear to have been caused by the infusion from below of the trappean rocks, and the consequent metamorphosis of the slate rocks. No organic remains have been found in the latter, and the hills in Queen Charlotte's Sound, therefore, most probably belong to the transition series.†

Information respecting the Middle Island is more scanty. Mr. Tuckett and Mr. William Davison, in their capacity of surveyors, have, however, collected much valuable data; and Mr. Walter Mantell, who traversed the eastern coast, from Banks' Peninsula to Otago, made notes of the geological phenomena observable in his route, and transmitted to England a large collection of the minerals and fossils of the country.‡ Banks' Peninsula is chiefly composed of a group of igneous mountains; a lofty range cropped with metamorphic rocks, separate Ports Albert and Cooper; these rocks dip to the eastward on the Port Albert side, but incline at a considerable angle to the westward on the opposite slope.

The "Ninety-mile Beach" is a continuous line of shingle, without bay or headland, extending southward from Banks' Peninsula. The level country inland, consists of a substratum of slightly coherent gravel, principally composed of pebbles of schist, jasper, white, yellow, pink, and green quartz, covered, in the opinion of Mr. Mantell, by a layer of rich loam, which varies in thickness from a few inches to ten feet.

At the undulating country of Timaru, the superficial deposits are similar to those on the great plains, but superimposed on a vesicular volcanic rock, which reaches a height of fifteen feet, then gradually dipping to the south, it disappears in the course of a few miles. A bed of lignite coal, ten feet thick, is said to crop out on the bank of a

* *The New Zealand Magazine*, published quarterly, No. II., for April, 1850; printed at Wellington, New Zealand.

† Dr. Dieffenbach's *New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 57.

‡ His father, Dr. Mantell, has recorded the results of his son's investigation in two interesting memoirs, published in the *Geological Journal*, for 1845 and 1850.

stream inland of Timaru. The Pukehuri range, which bounds the great plains, and is a spur from the Southern Alps, is about 1,000 feet high; it is composed of highly inclined strata of slate, covered by a ferruginous conglomerate of quartz pebbles. The Waiareka country exhibits strata of a yellow and fawn-coloured limestone, generally friable and porous; the beds decline gently in various directions, and are very cavernous.

At Kakaunui a section of the coast shows (1) clay, without organic remains; (2) diluvial gravel, consisting chiefly of quartz, trap, amygdaloids, &c.; (3) volcanic grit; (4) the sea beach. A mile south of Kakaunui, strata of a tertiary blue clay, containing numerous shells of species existing in the neighbouring ocean, first appears. Further south the clay contains layers of septaria, varying from one to five inches in diameter; some of a sub-globular form, and some spherical; others are found broken and glittering with yellow and brown crystals of the calcareous spar, with which all the interstices of the septaria are lined or filled; many have a zone or belt of clay. With the exception of the zone, the septaria found in New Zealand are evidently similar to those that occur in the London clay off the coast of Sussex, which are used for Roman cement: the colonists will therefore possess an abundant supply of that valuable material. On approaching the district of Otago, boulders of serpentine, of various shades of green, are plentifully scattered on the sand hills around Purakauanui and "Blue Skin" Bays. By far the greater part of the geological specimens collected on the coast and country between Banks' Peninsula and Otago belong to plutonic, volcanic, and metamorphic rocks. There are no specimens of granite. Of the igneous products the most abundant are obsidian, basalt, and many varieties of amygdaloids, jade or nephrite, gneiss, serpentine, greenstone, chlorite-slate, micaceous-schist, silicious and clay-slate, &c.; sulphate of barytes, compact zeolite, and garnets, many varieties of chalcedony, agate, quartz, and jasper, semi-opal, onyx, and some masses resembling the green or chlorite jasper of India. The unaltered sedimentary deposits are limited to the stratified limestones of Ototara, which resemble the chalk of Europe in the general nature of their fossils (containing terebratula, echini, sharks' teeth, &c.); of Anaamatara; and the argillaceous strata of Kakaunui, &c. About 1,500 specimens of fossil bones, containing skulls, beaks, foot, and other bones, together with portions of egg-shells, have been sent to Dr. Mantell by his son from New Zealand; all, with the exception of a few bones of two species of seal, and one thigh-bone of a dog, belong to birds.* The shells appear to have been so large that a hat would have made an "egg-cup" for one of them. Some of these curious specimens were found in 1846–7, in a bed of *meanaccanite*, or titaniferous iron-sand, near the embouchure of a stream termed the Waingongoro, between Wanganui and Waimate, on the west coast of the Northern Island; others were obtained by Mr. W. Davison, in the Middle Island, at Waikouaiti, about twenty miles north of Otago. The fossil bones of birds collected by the Rev. W. Williams from the beds and banks of fresh-water streams, were chiefly from the shores of Poverty Bay, and those sent home by Mr. W. Swainson were from the vicinity of the Bay of Islands. The Rev. Messrs. Colenso and Taylor, Mr. Earl, and other gentlemen, have made collections of fossil bones.

The gigantic *Moa*, or *Dinornis Giganteus*, (some species of which must have been from ten to fourteen feet high,) is supposed by the natives to exist at the present day in the unfrequented and almost inaccessible wilds of the interior. Traditions are rife that the Moa were once very numerous, and served as food for the remote ancestors of the present Maori population. Some of the largest species are stated to have been seen alive by natives, who describe the head and tail as adorned by magnificent plumes of feathers, which were worn by their ancient chiefs as ornaments of distinction. But the facts at present known lead to the inference that although the extinction of the colossal species of *Moa* is comparatively recent, there is no probability that any individuals have existed during the last century; possibly some of the smaller types may have been exterminated within the last fifty years, and may even now dwell in the unexplored parts of the interior of the islands; but of the gigantic species there seems no hope of our obtaining any living specimen.

The *Dinornis Giganteus* possessed a skull and beak essentially different from any

* There are upwards of sixty genera of birds in New Zealand, and but one indigenous mammalian quadruped, a species of rat, known to naturalists.

other known recent or fossil form. The cranium approaches the shape of that of reptiles: it is characterized by the nearly vertical occipital plane, the elevated position and form of the foramen magnum, and the great development below the occipital condyle; strong ridges border the basi-occipital; the temporal fossæ are very deep, and strengthened by a prolongation of the mastoid process, which is united to the frontal, forming a lateral zygomatic arch. These osteological processes indicate that the muscles which moved the skull possessed great power. The tympanic bone has two distinct cusps for articulation, with the double condyle of the os quadratum.

The configuration of the upper mandible or jaw, has been compared by Professor Owen to a cooper's adze; the whole beak seems, in conjunction with the three-toed claw, to have been specially adapted for tearing open the ground, and grubbing for roots and other food, such as tubers of different descriptions. The femur or thigh bone of a young bird in Dr. Mantell's collection is 14 inches long, 9 inches in circumference round the shaft, and 16 inches round the condyles: the tibia, or leg bone, is 30 inches long, 6 inches in circumference at the shaft, and 14 at the condyles. No vestiges of the bones of the wings have been as yet detected, and the extinct species probably bore a considerable affinity to the living order of apteryx, or wingless birds found in different parts of New Zealand.

Another genus, named the *Palapteryx*, differs from the Dinornis in the form of the skull, and in several osteological peculiarities; it appears to have somewhat resembled the emu of Australia, and must have had a remarkable development of the nasal organs.

Among the smaller sized fossil bones lately found, are some belonging to a genus named *Aptornis*, about the size of a bustard, and very closely allied to the apteryx; also those of the *Notornis*, a large bird belonging to the *Rallidæ*, or rail family; which, like the gigantic *Moa*, was supposed to have been long extinct, no traces of its existence having been seen since the coming of Europeans. A living specimen of the notornis has however been very recently captured in Resolution Island, in Dusky Bay, on the south-west coast of the Middle Island, the skin of which was preserved and sent to England.*

*Nestor* is the name given to a genus of nocturnal owl-like parrots, of which two species are known; one peculiar to New Zealand, and the other† to Phillip Island, a small rock adjacent to Norfolk Island; the last-named species is said to be now extinct. The femur of a dog is the only fossil relic of a mammal that has been discovered.

MINERALS.—The Great Barrier Island, and Kawau Island in the Gulf of Hauraki, contain grey copper ore, in a matrix of decomposed micaceous slate. Some of the specimens, on assay, gave nearly twenty-five per cent. of copper, the rest being sulphur, iron, and silica. Mr. Brown ‡ speaks of two copper mines having been opened in the neighbourhood of Auckland with highly satisfactory results, the ore being of the best quality, and obtained at a very trifling expense; some samples, he says, show "upwards of fifty per cent. of pure copper." The peroxide of manganese is said to be abundant in an island within fifteen miles of Auckland. Tin, lead, silver, bismuth, and nickel have been discovered, as also a titaniferous iron, in great quantities in various places. Sulphur is found in large masses about the East Cape. Coal, especially in the form of lignite, is plentiful, particularly in the Middle Island. It was reported to have been seen on a hill at the head of Port Cooper, but Mr. Mantell states, that on examining it in September, 1848, he was not surprised to find, instead of coal, "a bed of decaying obsidian," as he had found only igneous rock on all the surrounding mountains. A remarkable "coal cliff" was observed by Mr. Tuckett on the north side of Molyneux Bay, and on the south shore there are thick layers of lignite under cliffs of a soft ferruginous sandstone. The estuary of the Kawia is an extensive calcareous formation, the limestone being similar to that at Wangaroa. Rock salt has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Mercury Bay, and alum and nitre near the medicinal springs at the Roturua Lakes.

The substance used by the Maories for their tomahawks, and called by them *poenámu* (green talc, jasper, serpentine, or jade) is found chiefly in the channel of a lake, named *Te Wai Poenámu*, or "the water of green talc," situated inland from Otago.

* This bird (*Notornis Mantelli*) is figured, and described by Mr. Gould, in the *Zoological Transactions for* 1851.

† For a description of these birds, see Gould's *Birds of Australia*.

‡ *New Zealand in* 1845, p. 202.

It lies in small layers on the banks of the lake, and, like flint, has a whitish incrustation on its outer edges. It is soft when first dug from its watery bed, but hardens on exposure to the air, and when not formed too thick, is semi-transparent, having the appearance of crystallite. This stone is much valued by the natives, who make breast, ear, and neck ornaments of it, as well as hatchets and instruments of destruction.

An infusorial white earth is found in the bed of the large lake (Waihora), on the south-east of Banks' Peninsula; it is also observable in other places, and was at first supposed to be carbonate of magnesia; on minute examination, it has been ascertained that the usual lacustrine deposits are formed by the innumerable minute frustules of *diatomaceæ*, &c. The sand mounds on the shores of New Plymouth, consist chiefly of the siliceous shields of similar microscopic vegetables.

Whole districts are said to be formed of a cretaceous marl or chalk, extending from Hick's Bay to the Mahia, due west of Nukutaura, or Table Cape. Mr. Polack says, "these coasts are entirely formed of this material, slightly covered with a stunted furze."*

Soil.—The predominant soil is of an inferior description, comparatively little alluvial land being found in the neighbourhood of rivers, while rich loams are only occasionally met with in the volcanic districts. Undoubtedly, there are tracts of more or less extent, of excellent soil, from which a crop of wheat, and one of potatoes may be obtained within the year, but from all the explorations and practical tests that have yet been applied, it does not appear that the quantity of good soil in New Zealand, is nearly so large as has been represented; some authorities, indeed, assert that the cultivable surface does not exceed five to ten per cent. of the entire area of the islands.

Dr. Dieffenbach is of opinion that the plains, strictly speaking, are not the produce of the rivers; but are a table land, composed of stiff clay, which can scarcely be worked, and which was deposited, as we now find it, not by the rivers, which are too insignificant to produce such results, but at the original formation and heaving-up of the land. At the borders and outlets of the rivers there is only a small extent of true alluvial soil, the rest derives all the fertility it possesses from a vegetation which has covered it from the beginning—has decayed annually through ages, and has thus formed a layer of vegetable mould, in most cases very thin. The process resorted to, of burning off the vegetation to prepare the land for cultivation, destroys the vegetative powers, except where the fertile earth is of considerable thickness; and the pernicious native custom of lighting fires, in order to clear a road when travelling, has resulted in the exhaustion of whole tracts, where the soil, by care, might have yielded abundant sustenance for man.

Frequently, a volcanic region is one of extraordinary fertility, but this depends on the nature of the ejected matter; if it be mud, or even ashes, the surface, in course of time, becomes covered with vegetation, and a soil capable of tillage is produced; but igneous action in New Zealand seems, generally, to have caused an eruption of lava, forming large and hard masses of scoriæ, similar to the refuse of an iron foundry, which neither years nor weather can render fit for agriculture. The country therefore immediately at the base of the numberless volcanic cones, is generally ill adapted for tillage. At an ancient crater near Lake Maupere, the Maories have, with much labour, collected the large angular pieces of scoriaceous and vesicular lava and amygdaloidal basalt, which cover the sides and base of the cone, into heaps, and have cultivated the black soil between them.

At New Plymouth the soil is a fine and easily subdued loam, abounding, in its virgin state, with decayed vegetable matter, and having for its substratum an excellently proportioned composition of clay and sand, neither over consistent nor excessively friable. But in some places this last is more or less charged with hydrate of iron, which is poisonous to vegetation, unless rendered innocuous by a summer fallow, or a short exposure to the chemical influence of the atmosphere. The absence of lime in the soil is also a great drawback, as after several croppings the land produces a stunted and sickly vegetation, having what farmers term "a scabbed aspect." The nearest place at which lime is procurable is at Mokau, forty miles to the northward.†

Climate in New Zealand, as in other

* *Residence in New Zealand*, vol. i., p. 343.

† See an able report by Dr. Wilson of the Colonial Hospital, New Plymouth, dated Dec. 1849. Parliamentary Papers for August, 1850, p. 112.

places, is to be determined in its character by equatorial position, elevation above the ocean level, insularity, prevailing winds, quantity of moisture, nature of the soil, and extent of cultivation. A glance at the map of New Zealand will indicate how varied, from most of these causes, must be the climate of a country stretching through twelve degrees of latitude, with ranges of mountains perpetually covered with snow, with a very irregular configuration of the land, and with the whole eastern coast for about 1,500 miles exposed to the full fury of the tempestuous winds and of the surcharged clouds which rush from the antarctic circle towards the warmer northern regions. The following meteorological record, kept by Dr. A. S. Thompson, surgeon of H.M. 58th regiment, affords a comprehensive view of the climate of Auckland:—

*Meteorological Table for the year ended July,* 1849, *compiled from observations made at Auckland, thirty feet above the level of the sea.*

| Months. | Greatest heat in shade. | Greatest cold during month. | Mean temperature. | Average daily range of temperature. | Power of Solar Rays. | | Degrees. | No. of days on which rain fell. | Barometer, corrected to 32° Fahrenheit. | | | Quantity of rain, in inches. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Mean. | Greatest. | | | Highest. | Lowest. | Mean. | |
| Jan. [Summer] | 88 | 49 | 67.0 | 17.0 | 99 | 122 | 7.0 | 8 | 30.11 | 29.74 | 29.92 | 0.65 |
| Feb. [Autumn] | 89 | 50 | 69.0 | 17.0 | 105 | 124 | 6.0 | 9 | 30.33 | 29.17 | 29.90 | 8.24 |
| March „ | 80 | 47 | 63.6 | 16.½ | 89 | 114 | 5.2 | 11 | 30.07 | 29.60 | 29.87 | 2.99 |
| April „ | 81 | 48 | 63.2 | 14.5 | 87 | 103 | 3.5 | 10 | 30.23 | 29.45 | 29.94 | 4.88 |
| May [Winter] | 74 | 45 | 56.9 | 13.0 | 82 | 95 | 3.5 | 19 | 30.37 | 29.20 | 29.78 | 3.29 |
| June „ | 68 | 35 | 51.4 | 15.0 | 73 | 85 | 3.0 | 19 | 30.15 | 29.44 | 29.89 | 3.28 |
| July „ | 68 | 33 | 51.0 | 14.0 | 75 | 90 | 2.1 | 28 | 30.13 | 29.34 | 29.94 | 7.96 |
| August [Spring] | 66 | 36 | 51.8 | 12.5 | 78 | 90 | 2.6 | 16 | 30.28 | 29.37 | 29.83 | 6.45 |
| September „ | 67 | 37 | 51.5 | 13.1 | 85 | 100 | 3.8 | 23 | 30.20 | 29.13 | 29.65 | 4.45 |
| October „ | 77 | 37 | 57.3 | 15.2 | 88 | 112 | 5.0 | 15 | 30.34 | 28.96 | 29.61 | 3.43 |
| Nov. [Summer] | 77 | 50 | 62.1 | 13.3 | 97 | 110 | 5.0 | 16 | 29.99 | 29.57 | 29.81 | 4.78 |
| December „ | 79 | 49 | 66.0 | 17.0 | 101 | 114 | 7.5 | 5 | 30.08 | 29.55 | 29.87 | 1.44 |
| Total and Mean | 89 | 33 | 59.2 | 14.0 | 87 | 124 | 4.5 | 179 | 30.37 | 28.96 | 29.92 | 51.84 |

*Note.*—A self-registering thermometer was used for the extreme temperatures, the mean temperature was drawn from four observations daily. The barometer during the year indicated the least pressure on the 18th October, 1848, the day on which the second severe shock of an earthquake was felt at Wellington; the two barometers used, gave the same indication on that day.

"The prevailing winds are westerly; gales from the eastward, accompanied with rain, usually occur about the full and change of the moon, and last three days. The most settled weather is with southerly winds. The barometer rises highest at the approach of easterly winds, and sinks lowest with south-westerly gales. During easterly gales, when the wind shifts from east to north, a change to the westward may be expected; but when it shifts from east to south-east, the gale may be expected to increase.

"The foregoing observations," says Dr. Thompson, "support the opinion that the mean temperature of the southern hemisphere is lower than that of the northern, although not to the extent laid down by Baron Humboldt. Thus Gibraltar and Malta, placed in very similar latitudes to Auckland, have a mean annual temperature ten and eight degrees higher, while Rome and Montpelier, in latitudes 41° and 43°, have a mean annual temperature similar to that of Auckland."

As, however, the observations of Captains Scoresby and Weddell tend to show that the supposed difference in the temperature of the two hemispheres does not exist in the open sea, the observations made at Auckland (a truly oceanic climate in almost every respect) will furnish data for comparison with the temperature at the Western Islands and corresponding places in the northern hemisphere.

At Auckland, the number of days on which rain falls will probably be found to be greater than at other parts of the North Island. This result is produced by the narrow neck of land on which the town is situated. Dr. Thompson spent part of the months of August and September, 1849, in the interior of the North Island, and although he saw ice a quarter-of-an-inch thick, and hoar frost on several occasions during the night, yet few wet days compared with what occurred in Auckland during the same period, were experienced.

The following return (compiled from data

furnished by the authorities named in the note,) shows some of the elements of the climate of three localities in the North Island, for the years ended March 1849 and July 1849, and the annual average temperature and amount of rain which falls in London :—

| Places. | Latitude. | Mean temperature of the year. | Mean temperature. | | Aqueous vapour. | Mean barometer. | Quantity of rain, in inches. | Number of days in which rain fell. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Warmest month. | Coldest month. | | | | |
| London[1] . . . . . . | 51° 30′ N. | 49 | 62 | 36 | 5.5 | 29.93 | 20.05 | 153 |
| Bay of Islands[2]. . . . | 35 15 S. | 64 | 75 | 55 | — | — | — | 99 |
| Auckland[3] . . . . . | 36 51 S. | 59 | 69 | 51 | 4.5 | 29.92 | 51.84 | 179 |
| Wellington[4]. . . . . | 41 22 S. | 58 | 70 | 48 | — | 29.99 | 54.33 | 115 |

*Note.*—[1] Taken from an average of ten years, published in the *Statistical Companion* for the year 1848. [2] For the year ending March, 1849, furnished by Staff Assistant-surgeon Robertson. [3] For the year ending July, 1849, kept by Dr. Thompson. [4] For the year ending March, 1849, kept by Surgeon Prendergast, 66th Regt. [5] The average fall of rain in the United Kingdom is about thirty-four inches, but in the western or hilly counties it is forty-eight or fifty inches.

It is obvious from the above return that the North Island of New Zealand has a climate, the mean temperature of which is higher,—the range of the thermometer less, —and the moisture suspended in the air greater than the quantity in England. To this evenness of temperature and moisture of the atmosphere in New Zealand, Dr. Thompson thinks, may be attributed the favourable nature of the climate for the non-development of pulmonary consumption, and the small ratio of deaths which has been found to occur from this disease among the military population stationed in the North Island.

Frosts are rare in Auckland, and the summer heat is tempered by the east and west breezes. The mean temperature of the summer months may be taken at 67° Fahrenheit, of the winter at 52°, and of the year at 59°. This annual mean corresponds with that of Montpelier, in 43° 36″ N. lat., but there the difference between the hottest and coldest month is said by Dr. Dieffenbach to be 68° Fahrenheit. The heat of the warmest month in Auckland (which, as before stated, is situated in 35° 51′ S.) corresponds to that of Vienna in 48° 12′ N.; but its coldest month is somewhat below the temperature of the coldest month at Lisbon in 38° 43′ N. The usual rise and fall of tides at Auckland is ten feet, but easterly winds sometimes raise them to twelve or thirteen feet; the time of high water at full and change is about six hours and forty-five minutes.

The climate of the northern parts of New Zealand may be considered as warm and humid, that of the southern as cold and humid. The quantity of rain that falls is not so very much in excess of New South Wales, but the terrestrial absorption is less rapid in New Zealand. More rain is said to fall in the neighbourhood of Kauri forests than elsewhere, which may be partly owing to the elevated ridges and steep declivities in which this tree delights; possibly also these lofty groves exercise an electric action, causing the rapid precipitation of rain. Dense forests on mountain slopes in India and in other countries are known to influence the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, and doubtless do so in the present instance.

At Wellington (lat. 41°) the quantity of rain that fell from April, 1841, to February, 1842, was 34·49 inches: the annual quantity in London is about twenty-three inches. The most rainy months in Cook Strait are thus shown:—April, 1·86; May, 3·11; June, 4·12; July, 3·84; August, 4·56; September, 4·51; October, 2·31; November, 2·95; December, 5·47; January, 1·16. The number of rainy days during these months—133. The dews are particularly heavy during the winter months, when there is least rain; in the interior fogs rest upon the lakes and river-courses, and are not dispelled until the sun has risen some degrees above the horizon. The mean temperature of July—the coldest month at Wellington—is 48·7; the greatest cold during the day, 38; greatest warmth, 57. The mean temperature of January—the warmest month—is 66·4; highest, 76·5; lowest, 57. Mean annual temperature, 58° 2′. The wind blows from north or north-west 202 days, and from south or south-east 141 days. (Dieffenbach, vol. i., pp. 176, 177.)

Out of 365 days, the same writer states, there were only twelve which could be called calm; he adds, that it is difficult to say whether the north-west or the south-east are the strongest winds. The former prevail during the winter months, the latter when the sun has a southerly declination.

The western coast of New Zealand is less affected by the violent winds than the eastern; a heavy gale has been known to blow at Wellington, when there was fine weather and only light winds at Nelson. Sudden alternations of rain and sunshine follow each other in far more rapid succession than is experienced in England. The climate of the interior of both islands is, however, less changeable than that of the coast; in consequence of the presence of a snow-crowned mountain group, and the greater distance from the turbulent ocean.

By a register kept by Mr. Justice Chapman, at Karori, two miles from Wellington, and 591 feet above the sea, the state of the weather during the six winter months is thus shown:—

| State of Weather. | April. | May. | June. | July. | August. | September. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fine and sunny . . | 21 | 19 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 21 | 113 |
| Cloudy, but fair . . | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 11 |
| Showery . . . . | 5 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 43 |
| Rainy . . . . . | 0 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 16 |
| Gales of wind . . | 0 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 17 |
| Night frosts . . . | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 22 |

*Note.*—During the day the temperature varied from 45° to 56°.

The above table conveys a much more pleasing idea of the climate in the vicinity of Cook Strait, than that afforded by Dieffenbach, Power, and other authorities, who describe the Strait as an immense funnel, through which, for the greater part of the year, a tempest rages without intermission, the mountains on either side serving to attract the clouds, and causing the precipitation of a superabundant quantity of moisture. The gales of wind are said to accompany the changes of the moon throughout the year.

Proceeding from Cook Strait to the southward, along the eastern coast, the rain and wind increases in quantity and in violence; at the New Canterbury settlement, and at Otago, the winter season is one of considerable severity, the icy blasts and southern sleet causing the most disagreeable sensations to the human frame.

The climate of New Plymouth is stated to be benign and temperate, whether with reference to summer heat or winter cold: sudden vicissitudes are rare; and the seasons succeed each other in almost inappreciable gradation. South-western and western winds prevail; the south and south-east are described as being the coldest and most disagreeable; and the northern as the most humid. Thunder storms occasionally occur, and slight shocks of earthquakes have been repeatedly felt, but have done no damage. The centre of these phenomena is generally thought to be the Tongariro mountain, but Dr. Wilson, who resided seven years at Wanganui, and experienced many of these *tremblements de terre*, says that the underground vibration, and the succeeding oscillations, appeared to come in a direct line from Mount Egmont. There are several marshes; but the frequent rains, and the moderate temperature, do not allow exsiccation to proceed far enough for the peculiar fermentation necessary to the production of miasmatic effluvium.

Shocks of earthquakes have been recently frequently felt at Wellington; in 1846 there were twenty-four, in 1847, sixteen. These shocks have occurred in every month throughout the year. In 1846, ten took place in December; but the most disastrous earthquake of which we have any record, commenced on the morning of the 16th of October, 1848, and continued at intervals throughout the day; by its violence walls were cracked, chimneys thrown down, and considerable damage done to property. On the ensuing days many shocks were experienced, followed by tremblings of the earth, until on the 19th, at 10 minutes past 5, A.M., a terrible concussion shattered most of the houses and public buildings, rocked to and fro in a fearful manner the wooden structures, destroyed three lives, endangered several others, and filled all the inhabitants with consternation and alarm. Many persons, afraid of passing the night in any of the buildings left standing, notwithstanding the wild and inclement weather, fled to the hills or crowded on board a few ships then in the harbour, anxious to quit so frighful a scene;* terror and dismay reigned everywhere, the energies of all seemed paralyzed, the specie in the settlement was sent on

* The *Subraon* sailed with sixty-six passengers for Sydney, but she was wrecked within sight of Wellington, and the people cast back again on the land.

board HMS. *Fly*, and but for the refuge which the new church at Te Aro afforded, there would have been no shelter for the sick and maimed. The shocks and tremblings of the earth continued, and the Lieutenant-governor, on Friday, the 20th of October, proclaimed a solemn fast, which was reverently observed by all classes, who acknowledged the hand of the Almighty, and looked to him only for safety and protection.* The tremblings, and a lesser degree of vertical motion, together with a vibration along the earth's surface, produced apparently by a distant heavy concussion, and preceded by a loud rumbling noise distinctly heard in advance of the shocks, continued for several days. The earthquake was slightly felt at New Plymouth, Wanganui, Nelson, Akaroa, Otago, and the East Cape. The Maories have no recollection of such a severe and long-continued convulsion of the earth. The damage done to property was estimated at about £15,000.

[I cannot here avoid referring the reader to the worse than idle ceremonial with which the site of the town of Wellington was taken possession of by Colonel Wakefield, just nine years previous to this visitation (see Div. v. p. 160); to the seizure of the land and destruction of the buildings, on this very spot, devoted to christian missionary purposes; and to the disgraceful fact, that for several years after the foundation of the settlement, no temple dedicated to the worship of God was raised at Wellington, no land set apart for the purpose, no minister of the gospel provided and maintained by the New Zealand Company, to administer to the spiritual wants of the settlers whom they sent out, although it was boasted that, not without reason, they belonged to the highest class of society that had ever emigrated to a British colony.]

Diseases.—When Cook first visited New Zealand, he observed with surprise the healthy condition of the people; he saw no diseased or deformed person—no evidence of any cutaneous disorder. A Maori, who had received a musket-ball through the fleshy part of his arm, had the wound quickly healed, owing to his sound corporeal state. There were many whose loss of teeth and hair indicated great age, but there was no decrepitude; and although not equal to the young in muscular strength, they were not behind them in cheerfulness and vivacity.

Hospitals have been established at Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, and Wanganui, in which the Maories have been received as well as the Europeans. The report of the colonial surgeon (Dr. William Davies), dated 1st January, 1849, relative to the hospital at Auckland, is very gratifying. The number of patients treated during the year 1848, is thus shown :—

*Return of the number of Patients treated in the Colonial Hospital, Auckland, during the year* 1848.

| Patients. | Europeans and others. | Aboriginal Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Internal patients :— | | | |
| Males | 78 | 142 | 220 |
| Females | 40 | 16 | 56 |
| Discharged cured :— | | | |
| Males | 59 | 132 | 191 |
| Females | 35 | 15 | 50 |
| Died :— | | | |
| Males | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Females | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| External patients :— | | | |
| Males | 9 | 315 | 324 |
| Females | 3 | 61 | 64 |
| Remaining in hospital : | | | |
| Males | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| Females | 1 | 0 | 1 |

*Note.*—The total number of internal and external patients was 664.

Of the Europeans admitted, forty-seven were military pensioners, and their wives and children: of this class, five died—about ten per cent. The proportion of deaths among all the European patients was about nine and-a-half per cent.: out of 534 native patients, no more than eight deaths occurred, and these cases were expected to have a fatal issue when they were admitted.

At New Plymouth, Dr. Wilson, an excellent colonial surgeon, stationed at the hospital, says, that the mortality among the Maories, and more especially among the females, has, within the last few years, been excessive, from the prevalence chiefly of catarrhal disease. During the year 1849, among the Ngatiruanui tribe, the deaths were nearly as one to ten. It is very generally alleged, that "of the total number of births, the male sex greatly predominates." This, as stated in a previous volume, (ii., p. 508, 510), is, in my opinion, a marked and frequent indication of a decreasing population. Another fact noticed

* See Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, of 10th May, 1849, p. 5, where these words are used by Lieutenant-governor Eyre.

by Dr. Wilson, is—that whereas, among the white population, sterile and childless couples are extremely rare, and a healthy progeny is rapidly augmenting, among the Maories the reverse is the case; and few couples are to be met with who have more than one or two children, and these are commonly a puny and sickly offspring.

The partial introduction of European clothing (especially blankets), tobacco, and ardent spirits, has been accompanied with many maladies. Influenza, scarlatina, consumption, and scrofula, have committed great ravages among the natives, while, on the other hand, an autumnal fever, prevalent at Auckland, of a mild form with them, assumes a dangerous and highly infectious nature amongst Europeans. In the autumn of 1847, it gained admittance at St. John's College, Tamaki—spread rapidly in all directions, and terminated, in most cases, with typhoid symptoms. During 1848, an epidemic scarlatina appeared, for the first time, at Auckland, and of 146 who were attacked, eighteen died—one out of every eight cases. In one family, four out of five children died. Only one native (a servant in an European family), had the disease. Small-pox has not yet visited New Zealand. To ward off, if possible, this awful scourge of aboriginal races, the cowpock has been extensively disseminated; the civil and military officers have vaccinated many of the Maories; and it is hoped that this precaution, if not wholly successful, will greatly mitigate the disastrous consequences which almost invariably attend the first appearance of this malady.

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## CHAPTER IV.

POPULATION; ENGLISH AND MAORI OR ABORIGINAL—ANNUAL INCREASE OF SETTLERS—BIRTHS AND DEATHS—MAORI CHARACTER—PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION—STATE OF RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND CRIME—MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS—FORM OF GOVERNMENT, &c.

At the beginning of the year 1839, there were nearly two thousand Europeans in New Zealand, of whom about one-half were dispersed over the country, engaged in whaling and sealing, or in cultivating the land; while the remainder, attracted by the number of vessels which then resorted to the Bay of Islands, took up their abode in the Northern Peninsula, and pursued a profitable trade in the export of flax, timber, and other products.

As soon as the New Zealand Company commenced operations, it became a part of their policy to send out to New Zealand as many emigrants as possible, in order that a claim might be founded for the grant o. large tracts of land, in return for the sums thus expended. To accomplish this object every means were employed, but no attempts were made to proportion the number of the labouring class to that of the capitalist or proprietary emigrants. Indeed, from the very first, the lauded theories of "systematic colonization," and what was infinitely ot more consequence, "Christian colonization," were entirely neglected.

The emigrants sent out by the Company up to May, 1843, were as follows :—

| Description of Passengers. | May, 1839, to May, 1840. | | | May, 1840, to May, 1841. | | | May, 1841, to May, 1842. | | | May, 1842, to May, 1843. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| Cabin Passengers—1st Class . | 110 | 48 | 158 | 216 | 101 | 317 | } 84 | — | 84 | 218 | 107 | 325 |
| " " 2nd " . | 32 | 26 | 58 | 56 | 29 | 85 | | | | | | |
| Steerage " Labourers . | 516 | 393 | 909 | 1,442 | 1,197 | 2,639 | 1,468 | 1,442 | 2,910 | 671 | 640 | 1,311 |
| Total . . . . . . | 658 | 467 | 1,125 | 1,714 | 1,327 | 3,041 | 1,552 | 1,442 | 2,994 | 889 | 747 | 1,636 |

Of these 8,796 persons, 4,431 were sent to Wellington, 3,335 to Nelson, and 1,030 to New Plymouth. Nearly three-fourths of the whole were despatched from England before the 17th of November, 1841; viz.:—

| Passengers. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cabin, 1st class . . | 404 | 159 | 563 |
| „ 2nd class . . | 63 | 29 | 92 |
| Steerage—labourers . | 3,035 | 2,662 | 5,697 |
| Total . . . | 3,502 | 2,850 | 6,352 |

The established British population in New Zealand from the period of the assumption of British sovereignty in 1840, to 1844, is given as follows, on the authority of the colonial secretary, Dr. Sinclair. In 1842 the first census was attempted:—

| Localities. | 1840. | 1841. | 1842 | 1843. | 1844. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Auckland . | — | 1,500 | 2,895 | 2,522 | 2,754 |
| Wellington . | 1,200 | 2,100 | 3,701 | 3,808 | 4,048 |
| Nelson . . | — | — | 2,500 | 2,942 | 2,915 |
| NewPlymouth | — | 400 | 895 | 1,091 | 1,155 |
| Bay of Islands | 600 | 500 | 380 | 669 | 534 |
| Hokianga . | 150 | 200 | 263 | 236 | 179 |
| Akaroa . . | 100 | 150 | 198 | 221 | 166 |
| Petre . . . | — | 150 | — | — | 197 |
| Total . | 2,050 | 5,000 | 10,832 | 11,489 | 11,948 |

It appears from various documents that, although 8,904 persons were introduced by the Company into their settlements, previous to 1847, only 7,973 were there in that year; and if the increase by births be taken into consideration, it becomes evident that a large proportion of the original settlers must have re-emigrated. According to the census of August, 1848, the number of children born in the colony, of European parents (exclusive of the military and their families,) was, 1,131 males, 1,333 females = 2,464. Of the whole population, the number born in England was, 2,522 males, 1,909 females; Wales, 22 males, 25 females; Ireland, 170 males, 105 females; Scotland, 597 males, 442 females; in British colonies, 150 males, 65 females; in foreign countries, 174 males, 97 females. Taking the total population of the province of New Munster in 1848, exclusive of the military and their families, at 8,903; and, subtracting the children born in the province, and the immigrants from British colonies and foreign countries, 3,008, there must have been much fewer than 5,995 of the New Zealand Company's immigrants remaining in 1848, as this number includes whalers and others who had settled in the province previous to the existence of the Company.

The political divisions of New Zealand have been so frequently changed, and the population and other returns are given under such different heads that it is not practicable to present a clear exposition of them in a tabular form: thus, for instance, the Northern Island is named *New Ulster*, and the Middle Island *New Munster*, but Wellington, although situated in the Northern Island, is included in the political division termed the *Province of New Munster*, while New Plymouth (Taranaki) is comprehended with Auckland, under the designation of the *Province of New Ulster*. More generally, however, the colonized portions of New Zealand are distinguished as the Northern or Southern Settlements; the former appellation being given to Auckland and New Plymouth, the latter to Wellington, Nelson, Akaroa or New Canterbury, and Otago or New Edinburgh. The returns, besides being given under varying heads, are grounded on very imperfect data, owing to the isolated position of the settlements, between which communication is difficult and infrequent, while a considerable number of the colonists themselves are scattered in various directions over the face of the country.

The following statement shows the *European* population in the Southern Settlements from the year 1843 to 1848 inclusive. Mr. A. Domett, the colonial secretary, says, that "in many of its items it can only be considered as an approximation:—"

| Southern Settlements or Districts. | 1843. | | 1844. | | 1845. | | 1846. | | 1847. | | 1848. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. |
| Wellington . . . | 2,106 | 1,702 | 2,212 | 1,835 | 2,208 | 1,866 | 2,134 | 1,843 | 2,487 | 1,993 | 2,672 | 2,086 |
| Wanganui, or Petre . . . . | 132 | 77 | 128 | 69 | 115 | 75 | 129 | 86 | 109 | 57 | 104 | 66 |
| Nelson . . . . | 1,588 | 1,354 | 1,560 | 1,355 | 1,546 | 1,364 | 1,524 | 1,329 | 1,504 | 1,363 | 1,657 | 1,433 |
| Akaroa . . . . | — | — | 129 | 37 | 139 | 62 | 157 | 90 | 173 | 113 | 152 | 113 |
| Otago . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 350 | 270 |
| Port Victoria . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total . . . | 3,826 | 3,133 | 4,029 | 3,296 | 4,008 | 3,367 | 3,944 | 3,348 | 4,273 | 3,526 | 4,935 | 3,968 |

*Note.*—The above table does not include strangers and aliens.

*Number of Persons of each Sex and Age in the Province of New Munster, as ascertained by a General Census taken in August*, 1848.

| Districts, &c. | Males. | | | | | Females. | | | | | Totals. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 7 years. | 7 and under 14. | 14 and under 21. | 21 and under 45. | 45 and up-wards. | Under 7 years. | 7 and under 14. | 14 and under 21. | 21 and under 45. | 45 and up-wards. | Males. | Fe-males. | Gen-eral Total |
| WELLINGTON DISTRICT: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Town and suburbs | 404 | 200 | 149 | 580 | 94 | 385 | 180 | 165 | 420 | 68 | 1,427 | 1,222 | 2,649 |
| *Rural localities:* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Karori and Karori Road | 32 | 33 | 23 | 41 | 16 | 29 | 30 | 19 | 36 | 13 | 145 | 127 | 272 |
| Wade's Town | 9 | 15 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 19 | 2 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 46 | 39 | 85 |
| Hutt, including Wai-nui-O-Mate | 141 | 91 | 55 | 226 | 37 | 138 | 55 | 34 | 126 | 24 | 550 | 377 | 927 |
| Wairarapa and Coast, from East Cape to Lowry Bay | 13 | 10 | 30 | 63 | 11 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 22 | 3 | 127 | 55 | 182 |
| Porirua Road, Bay, and Coast to Wanganui | 66 | 47 | 36 | 187 | 27 | 67 | 37 | 21 | 74 | 11 | 363 | 210 | 573 |
| Wanganui: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Petre and suburbs | 22 | 15 | 8 | 47 | 6 | 20 | 7 | 8 | 22 | 1 | 98 | 58 | 156 |
| Total | 687 | 411 | 307 | 1,152 | 199 | 673 | 322 | 257 | 710 | 113 | 2,756 | 2,088 | 4,844 |
| NELSON DISTRICT: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Town and suburbs | 206 | 110 | 51 | 228 | 37 | 209 | 115 | 70 | 207 | 17 | 632 | 618 | 1,250 |
| *Rural localities:* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wakapuaka | 19 | 14 | 17 | 33 | 1 | 22 | 15 | 8 | 26 | — | 84 | 71 | 155 |
| Waimea, East | 83 | 60 | 64 | 101 | 14 | 93 | 46 | 20 | 85 | 11 | 322 | 255 | 577 |
| " South | 60 | 36 | 29 | 65 | 16 | 48 | 29 | 20 | 56 | 15 | 206 | 168 | 374 |
| " West | 31 | 15 | 16 | 46 | 6 | 26 | 15 | 12 | 36 | 4 | 114 | 93 | 207 |
| Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka, Massacre Bay | 51 | 18 | 19 | 59 | 5 | 59 | 26 | 6 | 46 | 3 | 152 | 140 | 292 |
| Wairau, Cloudy Bay, Qn. Charlotte Sound | 9 | 4 | 3 | 38 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 15 | 4 | 66 | 28 | 94 |
| Total | 459 | 257 | 199 | 570 | 91 | 460 | 248 | 140 | 471 | 54 | 1,576 | 1,373 | 2,949 |
| AKAROA DISTRICT | 34 | 16 | 10 | 85 | 7 | 52 | 12 | 9 | 37 | 3 | 152 | 113 | 265 |
| OTAGO DISTRICT | 59 | 24 | 23 | 141 | 29 | 59 | 37 | 27 | 76 | 10 | 276 | 209 | 485 |
| General Total | 1,239 | 708 | 539 | 1,948 | 326 | 1,244 | 619 | 433 | 1,298 | 189 | 4,760 | 3,783 | 8,543 |
| Military and families | 94 | 14 | 142 | 1,013 | 2 | 126 | 23 | 11 | 154 | 1 | 1,265 | 315 | 1,580 |

There were in August, 1848, in New Munster Province, professional men, including doctors, lawyers, clergy, military officers, and surveyors, 84; land proprietors, farmers, and merchants, 253; manufacturers, brewers, and millers, 15; shopkeepers, and retail dealers, 105=457. Clerks, and overseers, 106; mechanics, and craftsmen, 779; manual labourers, pastoral, and agricultural, 955; carters, 46; mariners, and fishermen, 135; domestic servants, 72 males, 192 females. Not classified—naval and military pensioners, 7; males, principally children, 2,198; females, 3,409; strangers, 13.

The buildings of stone or brick numbered 96; of wood, 1,008; of clay, wood, &c., 633; 31 houses were slated, 977 shingled, 549 thatched, and 180 weather boarded. The outbuildings numbered 1,465. The number of breweries were, at Wellington, 3; at Nelson, 3—brick-kilns, at Wellington, 2—candle manufactories, 1—cloth or stocking-looms, Nelson, 2—cooperages, Wellington, 5; Nelson, 1—Flax mills, 1—rope-walks, Wellington, 2; Nelson, 2; Manawatu, 4—flour mills, wind, Wellington, 2; water, 1: Nelson, 3 steam; Wellington, 1—lime-kilns, Wellington, 1; Nelson, 1.

*State of the New Munster districts in* 1849.

| Districts. | Population. | | | Em-ployed in agri-culture. | Acres under crop. | Horses. | Horned Cattle. | Sheep. | Education. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Fe-males. | Total. | | | | | | Male scholars | Female scholars | Total. |
| Wellington | 2,365 | 2,112 | 4,747 | 628 | 2,237 | 536 | 5,942 | 34,015 | 108 | 69 | 177 |
| Nelson | 1,795 | 1,577 | 3,372 | 471 | 3,936 | 345 | 4,158 | 53,348 | 287 | 98 | 385 |
| Wanganui | 169 | 108 | 277 | 33 | 174 | 56 | 960 | 425 | 289 | 241 | 530 |
| Akaroa | 291 | 142 | 433 | 112 | 121 | 40 | 1,235 | 12,051 | 29 | 19 | 48 |
| Otago | 698 | 517 | 1,215 | 1,442 | 284 | 110 | 880 | 17,597 | 36 | 34 | 70 |
| Port Victoria | 221 | 80 | 301 | — | — | 34 | 739 | 10,900 | — | — | — |
| Total in 1849 | 5,809 | 4,536 | 10,345 | 2,686 | 6,596 | 1,121 | 13,914 | 128,336 | 749 | 461 | 1,210 |
| " 1848 | 4,911 | 3,966 | 8,877 | 1,367 | 6,408 | 1,009 | 12,341 | 80,184 | 627 | 421 | 1,048 |

*Note.*—This does not include the persons located between Porirua and Wanganui, amounting to 274 males, and 103 females, who possess 93 horses, 1,117 head of horned cattle, 6,571 sheep, and 846 goats.

*Number of Persons Married and Single in the Province of New Munster, as ascertained by a General Census taken in August*, 1848.

| Districts, &c. | Males. | | Females. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Married. | Single | Married. | Single |
| WELLINGTON DISTRICT: | | | | |
| Town and suburbs | 444 | 983 | 452 | 770 |
| *Rural localities:* | | | | |
| Karori and Karori Road | 48 | 97 | 47 | 80 |
| Wade's Town | 16 | 30 | 12 | 27 |
| Hutt, including Wai-nui-O-Mate | 143 | 407 | 143 | 234 |
| Wairarapa and Coast, from East Cape to Lowry Bay | 22 | 105 | 21 | 34 |
| Porirua Road, Bay, and Coast to Wanganui | 92 | 271 | 83 | 127 |
| Wanganui: | | | | |
| Petre and suburbs | 29 | 69 | 25 | 33 |
| Total | 794 | 1,962 | 783 | 1,305 |
| NELSON DISTRICT: | | | | |
| Town and suburbs | 212 | 420 | 217 | 401 |
| *Rural localities:* | | | | |
| Wakapuaka | 25 | 59 | 25 | 46 |
| Waimea, East | 92 | 230 | 92 | 163 |
| " South | 62 | 144 | 60 | 108 |
| " West | 39 | 75 | 39 | 54 |
| Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka, Massacre Bay | 55 | 97 | 53 | 87 |
| Wairau, Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound | 18 | 48 | 17 | 11 |
| Total | 503 | 1,073 | 503 | 870 |
| AKAROA DISTRICT | 42 | 110 | 37 | 76 |
| OTAGO DISTRICT | 84 | 192 | 78 | 131 |
| General Total | 1,423 | 3,337 | 1,401 | 2,382 |
| Military and families | 111 | 1,154 | 113 | 209 |

*Relative numbers of Europeans, Maories, Military, and their families, in the Province of New Munster, in the year* 1849.

| Settlements or Districts. | Whites. Europeans. | | Coloured. Natives. | | Military and their families. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | |
| Wellington | 2,635 | 2,112 | 400 | 323 | 1,303 |
| Wanganui | 169 | 108 | — | — | 334 |
| Petre | — | — | — | — | — |
| Nelson | 1,795 | 1,577 | — | — | — |
| Akaroa | 291 | 142 | 20 | — | 23 |
| Otago | 698 | 517 | 266 | 222 | 16 |
| Port Victoria | 221 | 80 | 136 | — | — |
| Total | 5,809 | 4,536 | — | — | — |

The Secretary for the New Munster province furnishes, amongst other information respecting the population of the province, the following data:—

" POPULATION.—*General Increase.*—In the years 1845 and 1846 the population of New Munster had decreased 5·68 per cent. on its amount in 1844; but in 1847 and 1848 it increased 20·62 per cent. on its amount at the end of 1846. In Wellington during the latter two years the increase was 17·06 per cent., in Nelson 9·00 per cent., on their respective populations in 1846.

" *Increase by Births.*—The number of registered births is no guide to the actual number that took place in the province in 1848, as it is certain that very many occurred which were never registered. But even those that were, amounted to 3·55 per cent. on the population at the end of 1847. An approximation may, however, be made to the real rate of increase by births, by comparing the number of children in the province under two years of age with the numbers of the population at the end of the years 1845, 1846, and 1847. As the returns for those years were taken in December of each year, and the return of children in August 1848, the amounts of population at the periods mentioned may be considered the correct numbers of those of whom the children were the produce. The average population of these three years was 7,645 souls. The number of children under two years (deducting those belonging to Otago, the inhabitants of which settlement arrived in 1848), that is, the number born between August 1846 and August 1848, was 760, which gives an average of 380 for each year. The increase, consequently, on the population in 1846 and 1847 was at the rate of 4·95, or nearly five per cent. per annum, by births alone. The deaths in 1848 were only ·81 per cent. on the population of that year (the number who died being added to its amount). This would give 4·14 for the actual rate of annual increase of the population, exclusive of immigration. In Great Britain the increase of population for ten years, from 1831 to 1841, (allowing for emigration) was 15·02 per cent., or 1·50 per annum. The per centage is, however, too low for New Munster, as the births of those who died under two years of age are omitted in the above calculation.

" The large proportion of deaths in Nelson, as compared with Wellington, in 1848, was occasioned by the number of infants dying that year of hooping cough. In the same year, throughout the province, the deaths were 1 in 123 of the whole population. In England, in 1842, 1 in 46·08; in the United States (no date given) 1 in 37.

" *Original Extraction of the Population.*—The centesimal proportions the inhabitants of different origin in the province bear to the whole population respectively are as follows:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51·86 | per cent. | born | in | England. |
| 12·16 | " | " | | Scotland. |
| ·55 | " | " | | Wales. |
| 3·21 | " | " | | Ireland. |
| 2·39 | " | " | | British Colonies. |
| 3·17 | " | " | | Foreign Countries. |
| 26·51 | " | " | | New Zealand. |
| 99·85 | | | | |

Thus it appears that there are, exclusive of the military, more than four times as many English as Scotch in the province, and nearly four times as many Scotch as Irish. The foreigners are principally Germans, and the French at Akaroa.

" *Proportion of Sexes.*—In August, 1848, there were about 1,000 more males than females in New Munster; an excess equal to about one-ninth of the whole population. This excess is greatest among adults between twenty-one and forty-five years of age. At Wellington the actual excess of males of this age is about four times as large as in Nelson, though the population is only half as large again. The proportion of females born is considerably greater than of males, judging from the number alive under two years old in 1848; but the proportions are reversed with respect to all the other sep-

tennial periods given. The number of females considerably exceeds that of males in England and Ireland.

"*Immigration and Emigration.*—The only result apparently, that can be arrived at upon this subject is an approximation to the excess of re-emigration over the immigration that has taken place independently of that set on foot by the New Zealand Company in the first colonization of the country. Deducting from the total population of August 1848, which amounted to 8,543, the number then existing of persons born in the colony, which by Return No. 2, is shown to have been 2,264, we have 6,279 immigrants still in the province. Taking the whole number introduced by the New Zealand Company as 8,904 souls, and allowing 1,200 for New Plymouth, we have 7,704 for New Munster. If the number of immigrants at present in the colony be subtracted from this, the remainder is 1,423, which represents the excess of loss by death and re-emigration, over gain by immigration other than that caused by the New Zealand Company in founding the settlements of the province. As the deaths in question, by a calculation from the loose returns we have of them, amount to between 400 and 500, the excess of loss by re-emigration would be about 1,000. The actual number of them that belonged to the body sent out by the Company, the returns do not enable us to ascertain."

The population of New Ulster, according to the *Blue Book* for 1849, was—

| Districts. | European. | | | Maori. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| AUCKLAND DISTRICT:— | | | | | | |
| Town and suburbs . . . . . . | 2,150 | 1,933 | 3,083 | — | — | — |
| Onehunga and Epsom . . . . | 655 | 536 | 1,191 | — | — | — |
| Panmure, Otahuhu, and Tamaki . . | 444 | 371 | 815 | — | — | — |
| Howick and Papakura . . . . | 348 | 318 | 666 | — | — | — |
| Kawau and Motukete . . . . | 204 | 137 | 341 | — | — | — |
| Barrier Island, Mahurangi, and other sawing stations . . . . . | 690 | 310 | 1,000 | — | — | — |
| BAY OF ISLANDS:— | | | | | | |
| Russell . . . . . . . . | 250 | 120 | 370 | 600 | 620 | 1,220 |
| Waimate . . . . . . . . | 37 | 25 | 62 | 1,000 | 500 | 1,500 |
| Hokianga . . . . . . . . | 103 | 84 | 187 | 1,400 | 500 | 1,900 |
| Monganui, Waingaroa, and Kaitaia . . | 91 | 53 | 144 | 2,330 | 1,806 | 4,136 |
| New Plymouth . . . . . . . | 640 | 549 | 1,189 | 790 | 550 | 1,340 |
| Total . . . . . . . . | 5,612 | 4,439 | 10,051 | — | — | — |

*Note.*—In the official return from which the above statistics are taken, the Maori population for the Auckland District is not given.

In a despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, dated Auckland, March 22, 1849, it is stated that in the northern half of the Northern Island—

"There are, exclusive of the military and pensioners, not more than about 2,388 males of all ages, not more than 1,500 of whom can be regarded as adults; and the above number of 1,500 adult males includes all the civil officers of the government, the police, custom-house officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens, who here are numerous.

"The number of males belonging to the regiments quartered here, and to the corps of pensioners, is 1,793, that is 293 in excess of the adult European male population of all other classes. The number of natives may perhaps be stated for all ages and sexes, at 80,000.

"In the southern half of the Northern Island, that is in the province of New Munster, the number of European males above twenty-one years of age, exclusive of the military, is 1,657, and in this number are included all the civil officers of the government, the police, custom-house officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens. The number of males belonging to the troops quartered there is 1,155.

"I have no means of calculating accurately the native population within the same district but those in immediate contact with the Europeans at Wellington, Taranaki, and Wanganui alone amount to about 7,000 souls, and I do not think that the whole of the native population in the district named can be taken at less than 25,000 souls.

"The result, therefore, for the northern island of New Zealand would stand as follows:—

| Adult Males. | | Natives. |
|---|---|---|
| Civil. | Military. | |
| 1,500 | 1,703 | 80,000 |
| 1,657 | 1,155 | 25,000 |
| 3,157 | 2,948 | 105,000 |

And this does not include the naval force. Owing to the paucity of women and children amongst the natives, the number of males capable of bearing arms forms a very large proportion of the above stated native population."

In a subsequent despatch, dated July, 1849, the Governor describes the New Zealand colony as consisting of nine principal European settlements, besides smaller dependencies of these, scattered over a distance of about 800 miles of latitude, separated from each other by wide intervals; only three of

them having inland communication with each other, even by persons on horseback. The total number of white colonists he states at 20,000 who were chiefly British subjects; but there were many Americans, French, and Germans. The majority are without arms, have never been trained to their use, and they are so scattered that they could not combine for their mutual assistance; and owing to the irregular manner in which they have occupied the country, it would be found impossible for the government to afford them efficient protection. The wide intervals between these European settlements are occupied by the Maories, or native races,* whose numbers are estimated at 120,000, a very large proportion of whom are males, and, to a great extent, armed with rifles, or double-barrelled guns, in whose use they are well skilled, and who have shown themselves, in repeated encounters with some of our best regiments of the line, equal in tactics and in bravery to any European troops. They are such excellent strategists that our soldiers have never yet succeeded in bringing them to a decisive encounter; availing themselves of the advantages afforded by their wilds and fastnesses, moving independent of baggage or supplies, and subsisting on fern-root, or on potatoes, carried by their wives, they can move and act where our troops could not live, and at any moment they could disarm every European in New Zealand.

Sir George Grey adds,—

"There appears to be no analogy between the irregular manner in which these islands were partially peopled by whalers and persons from all portions of the globe, and the pilgrim fathers who founded the early settlements in America. And I have been assured by many excellent and experienced officers, well acquainted with America and this country, that there is, in a military point of view, no analogy at all between the natives of the two countries; the Maories, both in weapons and knowledge of the art of war, a skill in planning and perseverance in carrying out the operations of a lengthened campaign, being infinitely superior to the American Indians. In fact, there can be no doubt that they are, for warfare in this country, even better equipped than our own troops.

"These natives, from the positions which they occupy between all the settlements, can choose their own point of attack, and might even so mislead the most wary government as to their intended operations as to render it extremely difficult to tell at what point they intended to strike a blow. They can move their forces with rapidity and secrecy from one point of the country to another; whilst, from the total absence of roads, the impassable nature of the country, and the utter want of supplies, it is impossible to move a European force more than a few miles into the interior from any settlement.

"The natives, moreover, present no point at which they can be attacked, or against which operations can be carried on. Finding now that we can readily destroy their pahs or fortifications, they no longer construct them, but live in scattered villages, round which they have their cultivations, and these they can abandon without difficulty or serious loss, being readily received and fed by any friendly tribe to whom they may repair. They thus present no vulnerable point. Amongst them are large numbers of lawless spirits, who are too ready, for the sake of excitement and the hope of plunder, to follow any predatory chief. To assist in anything which might be regarded as a national war, there can be little doubt that almost every village would pour forth its chiefs and its population.

"With these characteristics of courage and war-like vagrancy, the Maories present, however, other remarkable traits of character. Nearly the whole nation has now been converted to Christianity. They are fond of agriculture, take great pleasure in cattle and horses; like the sea, and form good sailors; are attached to Europeans, admire their customs and manners; are extremely ambitious of rising in civilization, and of becoming skilled in European arts; they are apt at learning; in many respects extremely conscientious and observant of their word; are ambitious of honours, and are probably the most covetous race in the world. They are also agreeable in manners, and attachments of a lasting character readily and frequently spring up between them and the Europeans."

* This estimate being higher than that given elsewhere, is adduced by Mr. Shortland in his recent work, to combat the general opinion that the Maori population is decreasing. He argues at considerable length, that the cessation of internecine strife, which occasioned much bloodshed, and reduced large numbers to slavery, had materially checked a diminution which was otherwise inevitable—that a greater feeling of security has caused them to quit their fortified and isolated pahs, and dwell in scattered villages, which has given rise to the idea of depopulation—that no reliance can be placed on their own vague statements as to their number in past times, exaggeration being a marked feature in their character. That there is no proof, whatever, of the Maori having in migrating from a warm climate, brought with him the habits of the tropics, and so generated an unsound constitution, but that on the contrary, Cook considered them a peculiarly healthy and vigorous race, that it seems doubtful if strumous complaints (consumption, scrofula, &c.,) are so prevalent among them as in Britain, and that the introduction of Christianity has mitigated the rigorous labour to which women were subjected, has stopped cannibalism, infanticide, abortion, and other crimes, promoted monogamy, diminished feuds and ancient animosities, and given a new and peaceful direction to the thoughts and energies of a brave, active, and enterprizing people.

"There is then, it is believed," he goes on to say, "no sufficient reason to anticipate the extinction of the Maori race, except by the possible means of its becoming blended with the European stock, an event the accomplishment of which must be very remote under any circumstances."—*Southern Districts of New Zealand;* chapter iii.

The subjoined statement of the native population is the only detailed estimate yet published, I therefore give it, although it is evidently grounded on very vague data. The spelling adopted by Mr. Halswell is so different from that used by other authorities, that I have altered it in several places, lest it should be unintelligible :—

| | |
|---|---|
| From North Cape to River Wangape | 5,000 |
| From Monganui, West, to Mangarura, East | 10,800 |
| Kaipara to Wangerura | 600 |
| Hauraki, River Thames | 4,200 |
| Manukao and Waikato | 18,000 |
| Tauranga Kati Kati, Bay of Plenty | 1,200 |
| Koturoa, Bay of Plenty | 9,000 |
| Wakatane, " | 2,400 |
| Oputeki " | 6,000 |
| Wai-apu nui, East Cape | 3,800 |
| Waiapu, Tologa Bay, Open Bay, &c. | 8,000 |
| Poverty Bay, Mahia to Cape Mata Maui | 12,000 |
| Mata Maui, Wairarapa, &c. | 900 |
| Port Nicholson | 541 |
| North Side of Cook Straits | 3,400 |
| Wanganui | 2,000 |
| Tikoe to Cape Egmont, Raupuku | 3,000 |
| Taranaki Pauki, Eaupupu to Mokau River | 3,000 |
| Taupo Lake | 6,000 |
| Urawara | 3,000 |
| Cloudy Bay | 200 |
| Queen Charlotte's Sound | 1,800 |
| Haurire, Tepapakereru, Waikawa | 100 |
| Rangitoto | 250 |
| Wakatu, Tehahi tahu, Motueka, Rewaka, and round the Shores at Blind Bay | 300 |
| Tokarupu, Port Cooper, Kokorarata, Port Levy | 158 |
| Kapuke | 12 |
| Waura River | 79 |
| Waihora Lake | 26 |
| Ohuki | 34 |
| Tunouri | 20 |
| Waikouaite | 20 |
| Moerake | 215 |
| Purakainui | 30 |
| Otago, all the Settlements on both sides the Bay | 340 |
| Tokata | 30 |
| Ruapuke, Five Settlements | 350 |
| Stewart's Island! | 20 |
| Centre Island, about Four Miles from Main Land | 200 |
| Codfish Island | 60 |
| To Arnott's River | 150 |
| From Arnott's River to Rocky Point | 30 |
| Total | 107,265 |

The following statement shows the numbers and condition of the natives of Wellington, Waikanai, Otaki, Manawatu, Rangitiki, and Wairarapa, in 1849, compiled by the Native Secretary to government :—

Population :—Male adults, 2,053; female ditto, 1,596; male children, 566; female ditto, 496; grand total, 4,711. Religion :—Church of England, 2,260; Wesleyans, 534; Roman catholics, 161; grand total, 2,955. Moral condition :—Married according to Europeans, 121; ditto native custom, 968; can read and write, 1,148; can read only, 414; daily scholars, 283.—Churches or chapels, 39, weather boarded houses, 29; huts, 1,102; horses, 349; cattle, 262; sheep, 42; wheat, 240 acres; maize, 235 acres; potatoes, 648 acres; kumera, 78 acres; other garden produce, 67 acres; tame pigs, 2,690; goats, 127; vessels, 2; war canoes, 130; water mills, 3; carts, 8.

The natives within the above mentioned districts are in the receipt of rents to the amount of £802 8*s*. per annum. The quantity of flax prepared by them averages 120 tons per annum, which is sold at the rate of about £10 per ton.

Among the aborigines there appear to have been originally at least two races, marked by distinctive characteristics, one composing the class of chiefs, (rangatira, or gentlemen,) the other an inferior variety of race, which has gradually become more or less enslaved; for slavery, though in a very mild form, was, until the introduction of Christianity, general throughout New Zealand.* The superior class are of a light brown or olive hue, and lofty stature; their features handsome and intellectual, notwithstanding the custom of *tattooing*† them; and the natural dignity of their bearing so striking, as to have induced more than one traveller to compare a Maori chief, wrapped in the ample folds of his red blanket, to a Roman senator in his toga. In the other class, traces of a negro cast of features, and a darker shade of colour, are observable; and the curly, black hair, rather short, thick-set frame, and inferior expression of countenance, seem to indicate difference of race, much modified, however, by frequent intermarriage and changes of position. In New Zealand, females hold

* There has invariably been a difference manifested in New Zealand, as among ancient nations, between slaves in our sense of the word and captives. Both were employed in services more or less degrading to a " rangatira," but the born freeman, when captured was treated with more consideration, though his life was quite as much at the disposal of his master as that of a born slave. Among the slave class the fortune of war has sometimes included some of the highest chiefs and finest looking men and women in the country, and on the other hand individuals notably inferior in personal appearance may be found among the ruling chiefs.

† The tattooing or tattowing, when well done, is said to have an effect by no means unpleasant to the eye, after a short time. The Maories say it makes the young men look like warriors, and the old appear young; this is so far true that it forms an unchanging mask. The young women, when first urged by the missionaries to leave off so barbarous a custom, replied, " we must have a few lines, particularly on the lips, just to keep away wrinkles."

property in their own right, and raise their husbands nearly to their own station, a fact which has been too little regarded in examining the claims of the early settlers.

The Maori women, when young, frequently possess considerable symmetry of form; their dark, bright, restless eyes are very fascinating; their teeth regular, and as white as ivory; and their soft voices give a peculiar sweetness and pathos to the musical idiom of their native tongue, which closely resembles that of the Sandwich Islands, and also that of Tahiti. Respecting the character of this singular and deeply interesting people much has been written of late years. Captain Cook's account, though necessarily cursory and imperfect, from his limited communication with them, is invaluable as our only record of their habits and manners, as a heathen nation, while yet unchanged by communication with Europeans. He says, that "the dispositions of both men and women seemed to be mild and gentle; they treat each other with the tenderest affection, but are implacable towards their enemies." Abundant testimony from various witnesses has confirmed the correctness of this remark; nor is it a slight evidence in their favour, that those who have known them best and longest, have esteemed them most. Bishop Selwyn, Archdeacons William and Henry Williams, and, in fact, the whole clerical and missionary body, have been included in one sweeping censure as prejudiced witnesses: yet their conclusions, grounded upon personal experience, are fully borne out by those of Governors Hobson, Fitz-Roy, Grey, and of the good and able Judge Martin. Captain Fitz-Roy speaks of the strict sense of honour which distinguishes their intercourse with their families and friends, of their unbounded hospitality, and of the purity of their hearth, (crimes against which were punished with death, after a kind of trial by jury,) as reminding him of the leading characteristics of the Araucanian Indian, as well as of the Arab of the desert, from whom the New Zealander, or rather the Polynesians in general, may be descended, and that they may be classed among the numerous children, or posterity, of Ishmael, whose hand, according to prophecy, should be against every man, and every man's hand against them!

In war, the Maori, throwing aside all gentler feeling, gives the rein to every bad passion of the unregenerate man; he becomes bloodthirsty, treacherous, and revengeful, though, even then, he never appears to exhibit the diabolical and systematic cruelty exercised among many savage nations. He kills, but rarely tortures. The *haka*, or war-dance, performed previous to hostile onsets, to which the trembling wives of the early missionaries so often listened in speechless horror, while their husbands strove, at the risk of their lives, to mediate between the opponents, is described as something terribly appalling; the ferocious shouts and serpent-like hissing seeming to express an energy of hate and evil truly demoniacal. Their demonstrations of grief for the dead, of anguish at parting, of joy at meeting, are scarcely less vivid; but probably they indicate, like other paroxysms, a brief duration of the feeling thus expressed. The New Zealanders are, however, beyond question, faithful and affectionate; they are devotedly attached to their own offspring, and both fond and proud of the European children. The native women married by the whalers, sealers, and some of the lower class of settlers, have made good wives; but the difficulty of acquiring the Maori language, and the far greater difficulty of their learning English, is an obstacle to the happiness of these unions.

The Maori character, like that of many other nations, both civilized and savage, presents some strange contrarieties. Honest and trustworthy—true to the letter and spirit of their plighted faith—many of them are given to lying, from the mere habit of freely indulging the vagaries of a romantic imagination. They enjoy gossip, and invent stories when they have no news to tell; they love the marvellous, and exaggerate greatly. Shrewd traders, and well aware of the value of money, they are naturally generous, and cannot be prevented from lavishing on some newly-arrived relation or friend the whole of their hard earnings. Their poetry, many short pieces of which have been translated by Dieffenbach, Joplin, Merrett, Davis, and others, would in itself form an extraordinary feature in the history of any uncivilized people; and it is to be regretted that more care has not been taken to become still better acquainted with it, ere it pass away with the generation through whom some portions of it might be perpetuated. Of the various customs and manners—of the carvings and habitations—of the dress and implements of war—of the tattooed and preserved heads—and, above

all, of the wild, fanciful, and gloomy, but not idolatrous superstitions of the New Zealanders, in their heathen state, so much information has been circulated in England of late years,* that it is scarcely necessary to allude to them, save as relics of a bygone era.

New Zealand is now becoming a Christian nation, and we may reasonably anticipate great things of her children. It must not be overlooked, even in this hasty sketch, that she has already produced men and women who, if their characters were correctly delineated, and their history faithfully recorded, might take rank as great men. True it is, we can do little more than conjecture the motives of those daring adventurers who, migrating hither from some of the Polynesian islands, have been the founders of a race who, physically and morally, have few equals among aboriginal tribes, and whose daring determination in defending their territorial rights has not been more conspicuous than their keen appreciation of the benefits resulting from the arts of peace, and their almost general admittance, if not reception, of the truths and doctrines of the Christian faith.

The spirit that actuated Peter the Great, in laying aside his sceptre to labour with his hands in the dock-yards of England, was it not the same that induced Duaterra to break the chain of prejudice and custom, and labour in the lowest and most laborious agricultural employments, that he might instruct his countrymen in those useful pursuits, which he felt to be essential to their progress. Did ever far-seeing statesman meditate more anxiously the consequences that might result from his conduct in some trying emergency, than this same New Zealand chief, when, after agreeing to receive and protect the early ministers of religion and civilization, a whispered warning led him to reflect on the condition of the aborigines of Australia and Van Diemen's Island, and hesitate to introduce into his own beloved country, European settlers, under any guise or pretext.† (*Vide* p. 122.)

Te Pehi, or Tippahee, the great chief who visited England, won for himself and his people no small popularity. (p. 116.)

E'Ongi, and the blind wife who accompanied him in all his campaigns—does he bear no resemblance to other conquerors? saving, of course, the fearful stain of cannibalism, which has thrown a deep veil of horror and disgust over exploits, which those who delight in war might otherwise have deemed glorious,—so ambitious were his projects, so daring their execution. (p. 123.)

George, the inciter of the fearful Boyd massacre, was a bold, bad man, but his worst passions had been roused by the injuries and insults heaped upon him by Captain Thompson and his ill-fated crew; and, even in the midst of the frightful carnage, he shewed a touch of grateful feeling, by protecting the cabin-boy, who had shewn him kindness during the period of degradation which he so fearfully avenged. (p. 118.) Subsequently, Mr. Marsden, when engaged in establishing the earliest mission in New Zealand, proved his confidence in the inviolable hospitality of even the most ruthless of Maori chiefs, by sleeping by his side, surrounded by the fiercest warriors of the tribe.

To come to more recent times, Te Whero-Whero, and the brothers Patuone and Walker Nene, are men, whose natural ability, honesty, and stedfastness of purpose, successive governors of New Zealand have scarcely known how to praise sufficiently. Heke and Kawiti must be acknowledged by every one, who has studied the events of 1844-5, to have been skilful warriors, even military tacticians; certainly, they were far from being bloodthirsty savages. The wife of Heke, the daughter of E'Ongi, was a very remarkable woman, and the principal adviser of Heke throughout his warfare. Ranghiaiata, appears to have been crafty and sanguinary, but both he and Te Rauperaha (by far the superior of the two), cannot be considered as otherwise than men of considerable ability, and conduct in war. Who can read, without emotion, the consistent conduct of Puaha, the Christian chief, whose deep forebodings of the consequences that would result from the perseverance of the Nelson party, in their illegal attempt to seize the persons of the Maori chiefs, while defending their own property, powerfully impressed the mind of Captain

* *Vide* Angas' *Savage Life and Scenes*, Dieffenbach's *New Zealand*, Polack, and others.

† At the close of his eventful life, Duaterra was only eight-and-twenty. It pleased God to summon him at the very moment when his brightest anticipations seemed about to be realized, and his zealous efforts crowned with success.—(*Vide* an interesting memoir drawn up by the Rev. S. Marsden, and published in the appendix to Nicholas' *Voyage to New Zealand.*)

Wakefield; and whose solemn entreaties, but for the hasty violence of Mr. Thompson, the police magistrate, might, up to the very moment when the firing commenced, have stayed the effusion of blood, and saved the valuable lives so recklessly sacrificed at the Wairau. (p. 202.) Lest, however, I should seem to have formed too favourable an opinion of the Maories, I subjoin the following remarks, penned by one who having become acquainted with them in war time, and, as an enemy—yet, generously acknowledges their claims to respect:—

"The Maori is not a whit inferior in intelligence—is perhaps even superior in natural acuteness—to the uneducated classes of Europeans. Many individuals among them are possessed of superior understanding, and considerable information; and even the old men can sufficiently appreciate the advantages of education to begin their schooling long after time has grizzled their locks. An instance of an European perfectly uneducated to the age of fifty, and who then begins to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing, is considered remarkable; it is by no means so among the Maories. They pay as much attention to the improved cultivation of their lands as to that of their minds; European spades and mattocks take the place of their own rude implements; grain is everywhere superseding the potato. Sheep and cattle are added to their stock; fair wages purchase fair labour, and they put money in the bank. These are men who have some stake in the country, who can understand clearly when they are oppressed or injured, and who can resent it fearlessly. * * * The story of the natives of New South Wales and of Van Diemen's Land is well known to them, and they dread similar consequences to themselves, though with a steady determination to meet them with stout resistance."—Power; pp, 156, 157.

Among other measures adopted for the benefit of the natives, by her Majesty's government, may be mentioned, the prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors to them, of arms, of gunpowder, or even the repair of arms; providing the means of educating a number of native children; the establishment of hospitals, where they are treated on the same footing as Europeans; a tolerably efficient medical attendance in the most populous native districts; the employment of a native constabulary force; the enactment of laws for the adjustment of all disputes between the aborigines and Europeans; the issue of a weekly newspaper in the Maori language, wherein all measures of the government are explained to them, and its columns open to them for complaint; the training of the natives in various kinds of skilled labour on public works, under the superintendance of the royal engineer department; the formation of roads, and opening up of large tracts of country; the establishment of savings' banks; and government advances of small sums to different chiefs, to enable them to buy and build small sailing vessels for fishing and coasting traffic. This last admirable measure was introduced by Governor Fitz-Roy, although—cruelly fettered by the hopeless state of bankruptcy in which he found the colonial treasury, he had no pecuniary means of benefitting the natives, save from his private purse. The advances made have been punctually repaid, and the result of this wise and kindly policy is seen in the establishment of an extensive coasting trade, carried on chiefly by the natives.

Some important privileges remain to be conceded them; viz., that they should have a voice in the legislature, and be selected, if duly fitted by character and education, as salaried functionaries of the government, equally with British subjects of European descent. To exclude them from the elective franchise solely on the ground of their ignorance of a most difficult language, which Bishop Selwyn declares to be next to impossible for them to acquire, is an injustice which cannot be too soon rectified.

Their territorial rights have been fully recognised: in 1848, the few resident natives were treated with for the cession of certain extensive portions of the Middle Island, for which the sum of £2,000 was paid to them, and extensive reserves set apart for their sole use and benefit. The resident natives of the southern extremity of the Middle Island (about 280 individuals), have offered to sell to the government all that remains to them, including the whole country between Otago and Foveaux Strait, and Captain Stokes considers they would do so for £2,000 purchase-money.

In various places, the natives are leasing their reserves to European stockholders and agriculturists; from the Valley of the Wairarapa, they derive upwards of £1,000 per annum, and at Nelson and elsewhere, their rentals are improving, and will ultimately prove very lucrative. Of their own progress in mechanical, agricultural, and pastoral pursuits, many illustrations have been given in the preceding chapter. The more recent despatches of Governor Grey, and also the minutes of Lieutenant-governor Eyre respecting them, seem to indicate that, to energy and ability, they are gradually adding the habits of steady in-

dustry, which affords the best guarantee for their continuous progression as a civilized people.

The following testimony, borne by the governor in 1850, after an extensive tour, is highly creditable to the Maories, and proves that the missionaries, in their zeal for their spiritual welfare, have laboured also to improve their temporal condition :—

"I visited the districts of the Thames, of Rotorua, of Taupo, of Waipa, and of the whole west coast lying between Kawhia, and this place. Throughout the whole of these extensive and remote districts, I found the natives warmly attached to the British government, and anxious in every manner to testify their loyalty and attachment to the British crown.

"2. I am also happy to be able to state that I found them in all places pursuing improved modes of agriculture, and making preparations for the erection of water mills, or for other improvements. It was necessary for me to visit many mission stations, and I, in all instances, found the missionaries actively superintending and promoting the various improvements, in which the natives were engaged, so that the residence of these gentlemen in the districts I have visited, is conferring an advantage which cannot be overvalued, upon the present inhabitants of these islands, and upon the future occupants of them."

**Religion.** — Too little regard has been shown by the government, and utter indifference has been manifested by the New Zealand Company, to the making due provision for the administration of the ordinances of Christianity. There are no livings, rectories, or glebes throughout New Zealand. The only expense borne by the state, in the province of New Ulster, is—at Auckland, the salary of one chaplain (£200); and the whole ecclesiastical cost of the New Munster Province, for five settlements, was, for the year 1848, only £133 6*s*. 8*d*. Even in May, 1849, Lieutenant-governor Eyre, addressing the Legislative Council at Wellington, expressed deep regret that the province of New Munster should so long have laboured under a deficiency of ministers of religion, and of the means of Christian education. Until recently there was only one clergyman to attend to the spiritual care of 4,500 persons, spread over an extent of nine miles—to officiate at four places of worship, distant one, five, and nine miles from each other—to visit the hospital and jail, and succour the poor and afflicted. For several successive sabbaths in 1848–9 there was not an officiating clergyman of the church of England in Wellington. To remedy this grievous defect the Lieut.-governor appointed a colonial chaplain, as the New Zealand Company ought to have done years before.

In 1848 the religious persuasions in New Munster were—

| Denominations. | Wellington | Nelson. | Akaroa. | Otago. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Church of England . | 2,668 | 1,480 | 92 | 168 |
| Wesleyan . . . . | 726 | 468 | 12 | 19 |
| Other Dissenters[1]. . | 1,088 | 769 | 87 | 275 |
| Roman Catholics . . | 262 | 187 | 69 | 19 |
| Non Sectarian[2] . . | 71 | 166 | 5 | 4 |
| Hebrew . . . . . | 28 | — | — | — |

[1] Include the Established and Free Churches of Scotland (of which no separate census had been taken in 1848), the Cameronian, Primitive Methodists, German Lutherans, and the English and Scotch Independents.
[2] Professing to belong to no religious sect.

The number of places of worship were, church of England, 9; church of Scotland, 1; Wesleyan, 7; other dissenters, 7; Roman Catholic, 3. The experiment of founding settlements exclusively of one religious persuasion has in the instance of Otago been manifestly a failure; this settlement was to consist solely of the free church of Scotland, and an endowment of £300 a year for a minister was created; yet in 1848 there were 276 persons of five different persuasions, including that of the free church of Scotland, and 206 of the church of England, church of Rome, and Wesleyan persuasion.

The places of worship in New Ulster, in 1849, were in Auckland District 8, with 6 clergymen; Bay of Islands 4, with 6 clergymen; Wesleyan 6, with 6 clergymen; Presbyterian 1, Roman Catholic 1.

The clergymen of the church of England are not paid by the government, but by the Church Missionary Society; the bishop receives a small sum from government, and the remainder of his stipend is also furnished by the same beneficent association.*

In the Maori villages there is generally a building of a larger size than the dwelling houses of the people, set apart for Divine worship, and although these are for the most part rude structures, compared with the costly edifices of stone or brick raised by civilized man, they are marked by the pleasing feature of being the best buildings in the place. It is calculated that of those natives who are in connection with the Church Mission there are about 46,000 regular attendants on the religious services, while the communicants are above 6,000.

* Report of Church Missionary Society; 1849 p. 204.

The subjoined statements of the present conditions of the New Zealand Missions have been furnished me by the courtesy of their respective secretaries:—

*Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 30th April*, 1850.

| Church Districts. | Date of Formation. | Number of Stations. | Eng. Clerical Missionaries. | European Lay Teachers. | | Native Lay Teachers. | Native communicants, 1849. | Total. | Seminaries and Schools. | Scholars. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Male. | Female. | | | | | |
| Northern . | 1814 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 99 | 871 | 106 | — | — |
| Middle . . | 1834 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 74 | 1,224 | 86 | — | — |
| Eastern . . | 1839 | 6 | 4 | 1 | — | 132 | 2,893 | 137 | 80 | 3,500 |
| Western . | 1839 | 3 | 4 | 1 | — | 156 | 1,064 | 161 | 28 | 2,322 |
| At home . | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Totals . | — | 23 | 20 | 7 | 3 | 461 | 6,052 | 491 | — | — |

The gradual increase of the native communicants of the eastern district is very remarkable: it is thus shown in the report of Archdeacon W. Williams for the year 1849:—In the year 1840, the number was 29; 1841, 133; 1842, 451; 1843, 675; 1844, 946; 1845, 1,484; 1846, 1,668; 1847, 1,960; 1848, 2,054; 1849, 2,893.

*The Wesleyan Mission*—now enumerates sixteen principal stations, the chief establishments of which are situated at Auckland, Manukau, Mangungu, Waima, Wairoa, Kawhia, Aotea, New Plymouth, Waingaroa, Waipa, Waimate, Waitotara, Wanganui, Port Nicholson, Nelson, and Waikowaiti. Upon, or in connection with these stations, 104 chapels, and 129 other places of worship have been erected; and the number of missionaries is now twenty. Upwards of 3,000 native communicants, whose altered conduct furnishes proof that they have imbibed the spirit, as well as assumed the profession of Christianity, are, together with more than 500 of their white brethren, recognised as fully accredited church members. Many native teachers have been raised up, who are zealously engaged, under the direction of the missionaries, in teaching their ignorant fellow countrymen. Of these native agents, 325 act as local preachers or exhorters, 390 as sabbath school teachers, while seven assist in conducting day schools. An institution for training native teachers is in successful operation. 110 day schools have been instituted, in 105 of which, 3,413 natives, adults, and children, are receiving the advantages of religious and general education; and five day schools are conducted for the benefit of the children of the colonists, in which 236 children are receiving instruction: 207 sabbath schools, attended by upwards of 7,000 scholars of both sexes, afford religious instruction to both adults and children, the native race, and to the colonial youth on the Lord's day. A printing press has been several years at work, at the principal station on the Hokianga, in printing books in the native language, to meet the spirit of enquiry which has been excited among the people.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has printed in the Maori language—of the New Testament, 60,900 copies; Testaments and Psalms, 20,200. Portions of the Old Testament, 10,120 = 91,220; about 80,000 of these copies have been granted to the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, for the use of the New Zealanders.

Numerous copies of the New Testament and of the Liturgy of the Church of England have been printed in the Maori language, and many more are urgently required.

The Roman Catholic mission to New Zealand was founded in 1838, when Monseigneur Pompallier, the bishop, arrived with a priest and catechist. In 1846 there were two Roman Catholic bishops, sixteen priests, and eight friars distributed over the islands. Of the number of converts I am unable to offer an estimate.

The conversion of the Maories to Christianity is the only modern instance of an entire race of heathens, sunk in the depths of sin and degradation, being converted, within the period of a single generation, to the worship of the one true God. Did space afford the narration of the blessed effects of missionary efforts through the abounding grace of the Spirit, many special instances would seem little short of miracles. Governor Grey states that the whole native population are now Christians; and in the cessation of polygamy and infanticide, in the abandonment of their heathen superstitions, in their daily study of the scriptures, in their assembling regularly every morning and evening for public worship in each village before and after labour, in their studious observance of the Sabbath as a holy day, and in their erection of numerous temples of worship, unmistakable evidence is afforded how well they merit this distinctive and ennobling appellation.

Education.—According to the census of 1848, there were in New Munster—*Private* schools, 13, with 251 males, and 142 female pupils. *Public* schools—Church of England day schools, 7; scholars, 235 males, 159 females; ditto, Sunday, 6 scholars, 182 males, 138 females. Scotch Presbyterian day school, 1; scholars, 22 males, 26 females; Sunday, 2; scholars, 47 males, 51 females.

Wesleyan day schools, 4; scholars, 188 males, 124 females; Sunday, 4; scholars, 33 males, 34 females. Roman Catholic school, 1; scholars, 39 males, 5 females. Dissenters generally, day schools, 5; scholars, 83 males, 48 females; Sunday, 4. Non-sectarian day schools, 11; scholars, 115 males, 109 females; Sunday, 8; scholars, 195 males, 220 females.

This return does not include Maori or regimental schools. It appears that of the European population, 1,286 males and 1,234 females could *not* read in 1848. Those who could read only, were in number 875 males, 862 females: those who could read and write were 2,602 males, 1,664 females. The total number receiving daily education was 1,709.

The state of the schools in New Munster, 1849, was—

| Districts. | Schools. | Scholars. | | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males. | Females. | |
| Wellington . . . . . | 3 public day . . . . . . . . | 108 | 69 | 177 |
| " . . . . . | 12 private day . . . . . . . . | 287 | 98 | 385 |
| " . . . . . | 7 Sunday, for Europeans . . . | 90 | 46 | 136 |
| " . . . . . | 2 " for Maories . . . . | 35 | 30 | 65 |
| Wanganui . . . . . | 1 public day. . . . . . . . | 23 | 19 | 48 |
| Nelson . . . . . . | 13 " . . . . . . . . | 289 | 241 | 530 |
| " . . . . . . | 14 Sunday, for Europeans . . . | 360 | 316 | 676 |
| Otago . . . . . . | 1 " . . . . . . . . | 16 | 18 | 34 |
| " . . . . . . | 1 public day . . . . . . . | 36 | 34 | 70 |
| Total receiving instruction in 54 schools . . . . . | | 1,250 | 871 | 2,121 |

The state of education in New Ulster, during 1849, was—in Auckland District, *Church of England*, 7 schools, with 122 male, and 84 female scholars; Roman Catholic, 7 schools, with 340 male, and 286 female scholars; *Wesleyan*, 2 schools, with 270 children, and 1 native school. In the other districts of the province of New Ulster there are 11 schools, with 16 European and 965 Maori children; and 1 school at Aotea has 750 scholars, marked as attending instruction there.

Some of these schools are merely educational; others combine industrial pursuits, with elementary instruction. At many of the native schools the pupils are boarded, and raise much of their own food. The contributions from the public revenue of New Ulster, in 1849, towards industrial and common education, was—to the Church of England schools, £1,225; Wesleyan Mission, £873; Roman Catholic Mission, £405.

*The Press.*—Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, and Otago, have each one or more newspapers in the English language. The government, in 1842, established, at the suggestion of Mr. George Clarke, then protector of aborigines, a *Gazette* in the Maori language, with English letters, the Maories having no alphabetic or phonetic characters of their own. This useful periodical was set aside by Governor Grey, in 1846, but has been lately re-established. By its means the aborigines are kept constantly acquainted with the measures of government with respect to them, and with the reasons for their adoption. Interesting information is also furnished, and the *Gazette* is read with avidity, and its news discussed by village politicians with freedom and public spirit.

CRIME.—The number of convictions before the Supreme Court in New Munster, for five years, ending in 1848, was—

| Offences. | Wellington. | Nelson. |
|---|---|---|
| Against the person . . . | 17 | 2 |
| " property. . . . | 35 | 6 |
| Miscellaneous . . . . . | 8 | — |
| Total . . . . | 60 | 8 |

The murders were, in number, 2—manslaughters, 3; wounding, with intent to kill, 1; burglaries, 8; rape, 2. Of the 61 prisoners convicted, 20 consisted of persons who had arrived from New South Wales, Van Diemen's Island, or Parkhurst prison in England; 19 were soldiers; 10 were sailors, or unknown; 10 were original settlers; and 2 were Maories.

The total number of persons committed to prison in the Auckland District, in 1849—of whites, 112 males, 36 females; coloured, 9 males, 1 female = 158. At New Plymouth, 7 whites, and 1 coloured.

GOVERNMENT.—The mode in which the executive and legislative affairs of New Zealand were administered at the period of the

formation of the colony, has already been described, (p. 143,) as also the changes proposed in 1846, by an act of the Imperial Parliament—the repeal of that act, and the present form of administration, (pp. 231—235.) In 1852, a new constitution will be formed for New Zealand.

There is no local government at Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago, or Canterbury; and there are no municipalities there. The governor at Auckland appoints a magistrate and collector of customs for each settlement. Unpaid magistrates, sufficient to form a bench, are nominated from among the resident inhabitants; and the puisne judge at Wellington makes circuits when necessary. There is a chief justice and a Supreme Court of Judicature at Auckland.

Military Defences.—The number of troops stationed in New Zealand since the commencement of the administration of Governor Grey, has varied from 2,000 to 3,000. At present there are about 1,500 men, composed of royal artillery, engineers, and troops of the line, all under the authority of a major-general. There is also a local corps, termed the "Royal New Zealand Fencibles," composed of military pensioners who have been sent out with their wives and families as emigrants, and located in different districts.

The tabular statistics of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth divisions of pensioners enrolled for service in New Zealand on the 1st of December, 1849, are as follows:—

| No. of Division and Name of Village. | Date of Arrival in the Colony. | Miles distant from Auckland. | No. of Men who arrived in Colony. | Acre lots given to each Division. | Advance for Stock, &c. | Cottages complete and occupied. | Cottages in progress. | Horned Cattle owned by pensioners | No. of Women, Pensioners' Wives. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Onehunga | Aug. 5, 1847 | 6 | 67 | 63 | — | 64 | — | 36 | 54 |
| 2 Howick . | Oct. 8, " | 13 | 76 | 76 | £275 | 25 | 44 | 49 | 69 |
| 3 " | Oct. 10, " | 13 | 66 | 66 | 192 | 50 | 12 | 47 | 60 |
| 4 " | Nov. 26, " | 13 | 77 | 75 | 200 | 50 | 11 | 23 | 58 |
| 5 Panmure | Jan. 23, 1848 | 8½ | 75 | 75 | 192 | 70 | 6 | — | 57 |
| 6 Otahuhu | May 15, " | 8¼ | 73 | 73 | — | 25 | 4 | 16 | 68 |

*Note.*—In addition to horned cattle, the first division possess three horses.—The twenty-five cottages returned as incomplete in the sixth division are incomplete, and given over.—The four cottages, in the same division, returned as in progress, comprise two sergeants' and two privates' cottages.

Subsequently to the date of this return a much greater quantity of Pre-emption Land has been applied for than had been previously.

A Maori militia has been commenced: in April, 1849, arrangements were entered into between Governor Grey and nine chiefs of Te Whero-whero's tribe, by which themselves, and seventy-two of their followers, were permitted to occupy government lands in the neighbourhood of one of the European pensioners' (New Zealand Fencibles) villages, about six miles from Auckland.*

Under a militia ordinance dated 25th March, 1845, there is in New Ulster an Auckland battalion, consisting of 20 officers and 976 rank and file: there is also a militia battalion at Wellington and at Nelson.

There are two militia battalions in New Munster, one for Wellington, the other for Nelson. The period for drilling is twenty days in each year.

* Each of eighty-two Maories are to occupy six acres of government land rent free, subject to the condition of their serving, armed at their own expense, under the command of an officer of the Pensioners, whenever they may be called out for drill or military service by the government. For the first twelve days of such drill or service, they are to receive no payment, but for any number of days not exceeding twelve in the year, " they are to receive 1*s*. 6*d*. per diem. It is contemplated at the end of seven years to make over to the well conducted their lands and houses as freeholds. They are brought under the supervision of a British military officer and of a very active and energetic clergyman; and ' their first care in selecting the land for their occupation, was to examine every part with the object of ascertaining and reserving the best site for a church and a place for the clergyman's residence;' the surveyor-general adds ' in the choice of these places they displayed more taste and judgment than could have been expected.' "—Enclosure in Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, dated 22nd June, 1849. In honour of their sovereign they unanimously named their location "*Queen's Town.*" On signing the agreement the Maories stipulated that their native teacher, who, in the absence of the minister, read prayers, be exempted from military duties. Governor Grey intended to extend the number of these militia villages, so that in the event of renewed disturbances each division of the European New Zealand Fencibles would have the co-operation of a well drilled native militia, serving under the same officers, and whose activity and knowledge of the country would compensate for the unfitness of the Pensioners for rapid movements. By settling the Maories in fertile and favourable localities where they would find a ready market for their produce, an increasing value would, it was considered, be given to their property, and an intimacy spring up between them and their European neighbours, by which an attachment to British interests might be created.

# CHAPTER V.

## REVENUE—CUSTOM DUTIES AND OTHER ITEMS OF TAXATION—CIVIL AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE—BANKS AND MONEYS—COMMERCE—EXPORTS—STAPLE PRODUCTS—SHIPPING—WAGES OF LABOUR, AND PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

THE colony of New Zealand is unable, from its local revenue, to defray even its civil expenditure. In the New Zealand Company's settlements, throughout New Munster province, the revenue received in each successive year from 1840 to 1848, was:—£836, £4,425, £13,154, £12,592, £8,602, £6,341, £9,098, £15,515, £16,376. Meanwhile, the local expenditure increased from £1,550 to £69,861: this large sum being expended in the civil government of settlements containing less than 9,000 settlers. When to this we add the enormous charge for military expenses, it can scarcely be wondered that her Majesty's ministers should discourage the formation of colonies on the so-called "self-supporting principle," when experience proves them to be so heavy and continuous a drain on the British exchequer; and yet ill adapted, with all the help that "puffing" and extensive publicity can give them, to attract the tide of emigration from countries where *cheap land* affords the best prospect of independence to the needy, but industrious and enterprising adventurer.

It is difficult to form an accurate statement of the revenue and expenditure of New Zealand as a British colony. The following table, framed from various documents, is therefore only approximative, the total outlay is about £250,000 a-year:—

| Year. | Revenue. From Customs, &c. | Revenue. From land sales, &c.[1] | Revenue. Total. | Parliamentary grant, or receipts in aid of revenue. | Appropriation from the commissariat chest for military and naval. | Total expenditure derived from local revenues, parliamentary grants, &c., and commissariat chest. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840[2] | £926 | — | £926 } | £43,347[3] (1840–1841) | £804 (1840–1841) | £72,419 (1840–1841) |
| 1841 | 8,802 | £28,540 | 37,342 } | | | |
| 1842 | 20,282 | 11,723 | 32,005 | 17,494 | 1,426 | 50,925 |
| 1843 | 19,787[4] | 1,613 | 20,400 | 9,562[5] | 8,093 | 38,055 |
| 1844 | 13,756 | 405 | 14,161 | 2,532[6] | 9,782 | 26,475 |
| 1845 } 1846 }[7] | 38,929 | 615 | 39,554 | 35,673 | — | — |
| 1847 | 42,430 | 835 | 43,365 | 37,752 | 153,038 | 234,155 |
| 1848 | 41,856 | 3,337 | 45,193 | 50,250 | 155,653 | 251,096 |
| 1849 | 44,940 | 3,600 | 48,540 | 33,000[8] | 151,455 | 232,995 |
| 1850 | — | — | — | — | — | — |

[1] The fees on land grants not included, as they belong to the general revenue department.—[2] From the period of the assumption of British sovereignty in the early part of 1840.—[3] This sum was advanced by the government of New South Wales from the taxes levied on the people of that colony, and has not yet, I believe, been repaid by New Zealand or by the British Treasury.—[4] Of this £4,286 were arrears.—[5] This includes £3,562, amount of bills drawn on the British Treasury, £5,000 drafts on Boyd and Robinson, of Sydney, and £1,000 a loan from the Bishop of New Zealand.—[6] In addition to this £18,383 were issued as colonial debentures.—[7] No blue book sent home for 1845-6.—[8] Of this sum I am not certain, as moneys have been drawn from the commissariat chest in the colony, irrespective of the sums voted by parliament.

Custom duties form the principal source of revenue: they were suspended by Governor Fitz-Roy, 30th September, 1844, and re-established by Governor Grey in April and May, 1845. The sums collected since 1841 are thus imperfectly shown:—

| Year. | Auckland. | Wellington. | Russell. | Nelson. | New Plymouth. | Akaroa. | Otago. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1841 | £2,251 | £2,829 | £1,194 | — | — | — | — | £6,274 |
| 1842 | 5,524 | 8,983 | 2,573 | £1,335 | £170 | — | — | 18,588 |
| 1843 | 4,047 | 6,534 | 1,904 | 3,069 | 467 | £182 | — | 16,206 |
| 1844 | 3,069 | 4,604 | 1,051 | 1,972 | 481 | 246 | — | 11,426 |
| 1845 | 4,875 | 3,689 | — | 739 | 36 | — | — | 9,348 |
| 1846 | — | 6,368 | — | 1,070 | — | — | — | — |
| 1847 | 11,155 | 13,138 | — | 1,361 | — | — | — | 22,654 |
| 1848 | 17,970 | 11,020 | — | 1,571 | — | — | 824 | 31,385 |
| 1849 | 18,618 | 15,764 | — | 2,068 | — | — | 1,159 | 38,409 |
| 1850 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

The total civil and military revenue and expenditure in the years 1848–9, was :—

| Districts. | 1848. | 1849. |
|---|---|---|
| Revenue :— | | |
| New Ulster . . . . . | £25,561 | £25,687 |
| New Munster . . . . | 18,669 | 23,066 |
| Total revenue . . . | 44,230 | 48,753 |
| Civil Expenditure :— | | |
| New Ulster . . . . . | 47,427 | 41,205 |
| New Munster . . . . | 40,300 | 39,054 |
| Total civil expenditure | 87,727 | 80,259* |
| Military Expenditure :— | | |
| New Ulster . . . . . | 100,132 | 90,359 |
| New Munster . . . . | 55,521 | 61,096 |
| Total military expenditure | 155,653 | 151,455 |
| Ditto civil „ | 87,727 | 80,259 |
| Grand total . . . | 243,480 | 231,714 |

The military charges are exclusive of the cost of conveying troops, of pensioners, and other charges incurred in England. The net charge to Great Britain, during 1849, in New Zealand, was about £173,000.

The expenditure defrayed from the commissariat chest by Great Britain, in 1849, in the colony, was:—New Ulster, £101,948; New Munster, 61,096=£163,044. This is exclusive of the Parliamentary grant of £11,589 12*s.* 3*d*, credited in the commissariat chest; it includes £2,424 for naval services. It appears that the New Zealand Fencibles cost, for 1849, £15,116; and for the erection of cottages in the same year, £12,185=£27,301.

The progress of military expenditure in New Zealand is thus seen, at two periods of three years each.

| Year. | Expenditure. | Year. | Expenditure. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1841 | £804 | 1847 | £153,038 |
| 1842 | 1,426 | 1848 | 155,653 |
| 1843 | 8,093 | 1849 | 151,455 |
| Total . | £10,323 | Total. . | £460,146 |

*Note.*—These sums are exclusive of £28,992 furnished from the commissariat chest in aid of local revenue to the colonial government in 1847, and of £19,176 in 1848. They do not include the expenditure of the royal navy, which was very heavy; altogether the attempt of the New Zealand Company to dispossess the Maories of their land has in a mere pecuniary point of view cost the British exchequer at least a million sterling.

The sources of local taxation in New Zealand, in the years 1848–9, were :—

*Duties on Imports.*—On spirits, 5*s.* per gallon; cigars and snuff, 2*s.*; other manufactured tobacco, 1*s.*; on all other tobacco, 9*d.* per lb.; guns, weapons of every description, gunpowder, munitions of war, &c., £30 *for every* £100 *of value*; wine, £20, do; beer, £15, do. Goods, wares, and merchandise, not otherwise charged, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United Kingdom, or of any British possession, £10, do.; goods, &c., from foreign states, £12 : 10*s.*, do. The following articles admitted free of duty, live stock, bullion and coin, seeds, bulbs, and plants; printed books not being account books, common glass bottles imported full.* Similar duties are levied at Wellington and the other ports in New Zealand.

Among the other items of revenue are :—auctioneer's licences, £40 each, per annum; publican's do., general, £30; if within the limit of any borough, £40; night licences, additional, £10 per annum.† The "Raupo House Tax" is a levy of £20 per annum upon all owners of buildings constructed of raupo, nikau, straw, thatch, &c., within the boundaries of any town to which the provisions of the ordinance may be extended, if not removed within six months from the date of the proclamation. On all dogs found without a collar, 5*s*; with a collar and owner's name thereon, 2*s.* 6*d.* A slaughtering cattle licence, 2*s.* 6*d.*; and for each head of cattle slaughtered at a public slaughter house, 5*s.*; for every calf, sheep, and pig, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The depasturing licences are at the rate of £5 for a defined run; do. on crown lands, 10*s.* 6*d.* Assessment on cattle, each 8*s.*; on small do., 1*s.* each. For every licence to depasture cattle within the limits of a hundred, 10*s.* 6*d.* Licences to cut timber on crown lands, 5*s.* There are numerous public fees paid in the various offices.

The monetary state of New Zealand in 1849, is thus shewn :—

| Districts. | Coin in circulation. | Paper currency in circulation. |
|---|---|---|
| Auckland . . . . . . | £50,000 | £8,000 |
| Russell . . . . . . . | — | — |
| New Plymouth . . . . | 700 | 400 |
| Wellington . . . . . | — | 2,081 |

*Note.*—Where the — is inserted the amount is not known.

The paper currency is issued by a government bank, recently established, and by a branch of the *Union Bank of Australia.* The course of exchange is usually commissariat bills at par. Private bills from Auckland on England, 3 per cent. discount; from New Plymouth, 5 ditto; on Sydney, 1½ ditto.

The coins in circulation, and the weights and measures used are those of England.

There are savings' banks at Auckland and Wellington, for the encouragement of

* The salary of the Governor is £2,500

* Blue Book of New Zealand for 1849, received at the Colonial Office, London, in March, 1851.

† Number of licensed public houses in 1848, at Wellington, 10; Nelson, 7; Otago, 3; Akaroa, 1.

provident habits, and of frugality among both European and Maori inhabitants.

*Commerce.*—The trade of New Zealand has disappointed the sanguine expectations entertained at the foundation of the colony. The export of flax has diminished for want of a cheap and expeditious mode of preparing it; the whale has well nigh deserted the coasts of these islands, in consequence of the exterminating practice of the shore whalers during the breeding season; the seal has altogether disappeared, and wool has not yet been raised in quanties sufficient to yield a large return.

*Value of Exports of New Zealand produce.*

| Year. | Auckland. | Wellington. | Nelson. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1846 | £40,187 | £39,281 | £2,672 | £82,140 |
| 1847 | 12,670 | 19,128 | 2,272 | 34,070 |
| 1848 | 15,096 | 19,550 | 1,772 | 36,416 |
| 1849 | 23,539 | — | — | — |
| 1850 | — | — | — | — |
| 1851 | — | — | — | — |

*Note.*—Wellington and Nelson, in 1849, no returns.

The staple items are, flax, wool, whale-oil and bone, timber, bark, kauri gum, ropes, hides; and from Auckland, in 1846, copper ore was exported to the extent of 1,202 tons, valued at £22,180. The wool exports from New Munster are increasing, and in 1851–'2, will probably exceed a quarter of a million pounds weight.

The value of the trade has been, for two years, thus:—

| Districts. | 1848. | 1849. |
|---|---|---|
| Imports:— | | |
| New Ulster . . . . . | £124,434 | £106,912 |
| New Munster . . . . | 109,410 | 147,767 |
| Total . . . . | 233,844 | 254,679 |
| Exports:— | | |
| New Ulster . . . . . | 21,339 | 54,668 |
| New Munster . . . . | 22,876 | 75,994 |
| Total . . . . | 44,215 | 133,662 |

The shipping outwards from ports in New Zealand, during 1849, was—

| Ports. | Great Britain. | | British Colonies. | | United States. | | Foreign States. | | Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. |
| Auckland . . . . . . . . . | 2 | 908 | 48 | 10,162 | 21 | 3,393 | 9 | 2,138 | 80 | 29,622 |
| Russell . . . . . . . . . | — | — | 1 | 465 | 4 | 698 | 13 | 3,827 | 18 | 4,990 |
| Manganui . . . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | 2 | 254 | 18 | 5,763 | 20 | 6,017 |
| Hokianga . . . . . . . . | 1 | 533 | 3 | 915 | — | — | 1 | 364 | 5 | 1,812 |
| New Plymouth . . . . . . | — | — | 2 | 202 | — | — | — | — | 2 | 202 |
| Total . . . . . . . . | 3 | 1,441 | 54 | 11,744 | 27 | 4,345 | 41 | 12,092 | 125 | 29,622 |
| All the New Munster Ports . | 2 | 1,055 | 50 | 9,688 | 2 | 648 | 17 | 5,760 | 71 | 17,151 |
| Total of New Zealand . | 5 | 2,496 | 104 | 21,432 | 29 | 4,993 | 58 | 17,852 | 196 | 46,773 |

*Note.*—The total number of men employed in this tonnage is, for New Ulster, 1,916; for New Munster, 924 = 2,840; or an average of one seaman to each eighteen tons of shipping.

The value of the principal articles of export from Auckland, produce of New Zealand, was, in 1844, £3,037; and in 1849, £23,539. The returns on this, and other matters, are defective.

The whaling establishments connected with the port of Wellington in 1843, comprised 4 ships, and 91 boats, giving employment to 768 men, and yielding produce to the value of £32,680. In 1848 there were only 2 vessels and 28 boats employed, and the produce was valued at £14,898.

*Price of Labour.*—Cheap labour was predicted as one of the most clear and satisfactory consequences of dear land in the Company's delusive programmes. The result has proved the fallacy of this as of its other propositions. During the years 1844–'46 and '48 the wages in Wellington District of domestic service ranged from £15 to £20 per annum, and of predial labour from £35 to £37; in both instances these figures did not include board and lodging; at Wanganui domestic wages were £15 to £30. At Nelson predial labour ranged from £20 to £30; at Akaroa from £25 to £35.

*Prices of Food, &c.*—Wheat in Auckland District varied during 1849 from 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* 3*d.* per bushel; bread was 2*d.* per lb.; beef and mutton, 6*d.*; pork, 4*d.*; cheese, 1*s.*; butter, *fresh*, 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; ditto, *salt*, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; tea, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*; coffee, 1*s.*; sugar 4½*d.* to 5*d.*; tobacco, 1*s.* 10*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* duty paid; wine, 9*s.* to 10*s.*, duty paid, per gall.; brandy, 15*s.* duty paid; beer, 7*s.*; horses, £18 to £20; horned cattle, £7 10*s.* to £10; sheep, 20*s.*; goats, 5*s.*; swine, 20*s.* each.

In Auckland District, in 1849, domestic labour averaged £30 per annum; agricultural, 4*s.*; and Trades, 7*s.* 6*d.* a-day.

At Wellington prices were nearly the same as at Auckland; some things were dearer; fowls and ducks 3*s.* to 5*s.* a-pair; geese, 5*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.*; eggs, 1*s.* to 3*s.* a-dozen. The wages of *domestic* labour were, for males, £20 to £40; females, £15 to £25; agricultural, £35 to £60 a year; tradesmen, 6*s.* to 7*s.* a-day. At Nelson prices and wages were somewhat lower.

# CHAPTER VI.

## NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—VEGETATION—ANIMALS, BIRDS, REPTILES, AND INSECTS.

Several well-known scientific men have engaged in the examination and classification of the natural productions of New Zealand. Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander; the two Forsters, father and son; Mr. Menzies, who accompanied Vancouver in 1791; Captain D'Urville, and his naturalist, M. Lesson, in 1822; and the brothers Cunningham, in 1826 and 1834, whose discoveries were subsequently published by Sir William Hooker. Dr. Dieffenbach, in 1840–'41, made diligent research, and has carefully recorded his own observations, together with those of his predecessors. Since his time, many intelligent travellers have visited these islands, but no professed naturalist; the following account is, therefore, chiefly derived from his interesting and valuable volumes, illustrated by remarks gathered from more recent writers.

Vegetation.—New Zealand, with some of the adjacent islands (the Chatham, Auckland, and Macquarie's), forms a botanical centre. It is sufficiently distant from both America and Australia, to preserve its botanical peculiarities, and it offers a striking instance of the acknowledged fact, that the different regions of the globe are endowed with peculiar forms of animal and vegetable life.

The number of species at present known, is 632, of which number 314 are dicotyledonous or endogenous plants, and the rest, or 318, monocotyledonous and cellular plants. The consequence of this unusual proportion is very striking, and the traveller can scarcely fail to observe the scantiness of annual and flowering plants, of which, moreover, only a very few are possessed of vivid colours. In their place he will find a number of trees and ferns of various descriptions, which give at once a distinct character to the vegetation.

Among the Cellular, or Flowerless plants, the tribe of the *algæ, or sea-weeds*, are numerous; upon some descriptions, pigs feed extensively. The large pods of several species of *laminarieæ*, are used by the natives to contain oil and other fluids; some of them hold above a quart. There are many species of the *lichen* tribe; the volcanic nature, especially of the Northern Island, and the moisture of the climate being very favourable to their development. The fungi are also represented by several edible species. Champignons spring up wherever horses have been introduced. Another fungus, which grows to an enormous size, on the weather side of the tawai-tree (leiospermum racemosum), is used by the natives as tinder. The tubar cibarium nearly resembles the European truffle; there are several varieties of it. In mosses and liver mosses, New Zealand is very rich; some are extremely beautiful; one species grows in the form of a diminutive fern tree; another is a cup moss, with brilliant scarlet sealing-wax-like tips and edges, and a third resembles bushes of white coral. Of all plants, however, the ferns, and fern-like plants are the most numerous, covering immense districts in the Northern, and large portions of the Middle Island; they replace the *gramineæ* of other countries.* Some of them grow to thirty feet and more in height, and the variety and elegance of their form, from the most minute species to the giants of their kind, are remarkable. The commonest description is the pteris esculenta, the root of which affords an article of food to the natives, that part being selected which is deepest in the earth; it is also eaten by cattle, sheep, and pigs. There are several tree-ferns, the loftiest of which, the cyathea dealbata, is forty feet in height. The undeveloped leaves of the cyathea medullaris, when cooked, are edible, as well as a portion

* "On the dry hill lands between the mountains and the coast, which are not wooded, in some districts the prevailing growth is fern, in others grass. Where the former prevails, no crop can be obtained until the second year of cultivation, and both require manure to yield abundantly. In unwooded, low, alluvial lands, wherever the Phormium tenax or flax plant, the milk-thistle, the dock, or the bull-rush prevail, the cultivator can rely on a productive and immediate return on his labour. Where the flax plant grows in the low lands, they can be always drained, but where the bull-rush grows, much of the surface is too low to be drained." [From the diary of Mr. Tuckett.]

of the medulla; the flavour is rather insipid, but not disagreeable.

The number of MONOCOTYLEDONOUS or EXOGENOUS plants is very small in comparison with the cellular ones. Dieffenbach, who traversed the Northern Island extensively, declared that he had never met with (indigenous) grass in any other way than in simple specimens, excepting in the fertile district of Kaitaia; and on the barren volcanic table-land of the interior, where a coarse wiry grass, of a dirty yellowish colour, takes the place of the fern. Since then, however, extensive grassy tracts have been discovered, especially in the Middle Island, but the pasture, until manured, appears to grow generally in discoloured tufts.*

The useless, or almost useless *cyperaceæ, or sedge tribe,* are numerous, growing especially on the sandy downs on the seashore, or in swampy and stagnant places. The toi-toi, to which allusion has been so frequently made in the preceding pages, is a species of long rush-like sedge, used by the natives for forming the sides of their houses; it is fastened by bandages of flax to the wooden framework. The nearly related *restiaceæ* and *junceæ* have also several representatives, one of which, the leptocarpus filiformis, is a sure indication of shallow surface, and of a sub-soil, through which the water cannot percolate. The family of the *palmæ* is represented by the areca sapida, a graceful tree, growing in the deepest recesses of the forest, and highly prized by the natives, who use its large pinnate leaves for roofing, while the tender shoot affords them food, and the heart is described by Angas, as resembling the cocoa-nut in flavour.

There are many species of the *asphodeleæ;* the dracæna australis (ti or dragon-tree) forms jungle on the banks of the rivers; the phormium tenax (flax plant) is found everywhere, in swamps, on the driest hills, and on the sea side, where it is exposed to the spray of the salt water. One description has leaves twelve feet, and flower stalks twenty feet long; the flowers contain a sweet liquid in considerable quantities. The varieties of flax of the finest class must be planted; they require rich, moist, and flat, but not swampy land. All the native clothing was formerly made of flax, prepared by scraping with the nail or with the sharp edge of a mussel-shell, and manufactured by entwining perpendicular threads with others extended horizontally, a simple but very tedious process. The arthropodium cirrhatum, the New Zealand lily, is one of its handsomest flowers; the large fleshy root is edible.

A climbing plant, belonging to the *smilaceæ,* called supplejack by the Europeans, winds from tree to tree in the forests, often rendering the path scarcely passable. The natives use it to bind together the thatch-work of the houses, and the pigeon feeds especially on its red berries. There is one genus (three species) of the *irideæ:* the family of the *orchideæ* are more various, and have edible roots. Of the *aroideæ* the natives cultivate the arum or caladium esculentum, which they call taro, the tuberous root is the part eaten, and it forms a useful and nutritious article of food. The swamps of New Zealand are generally covered with the typha angustifolia, which under the name of raupo is a most useful material to the natives, who form the walls and roofs of their houses with bundles of it, tied together with a climbing fern, and eat the root, which is somewhat amylaceous.

Among the *climbing plants* which seek the support of larger trees, the principal one is the freycinetia banksii, the lower part of whose sweet and fleshy bractea, when fully ripe, resembles in flavour that of a rich and juicy pear, and is esteemed a great delicacy by the natives. The number of PHÆNOGAMOUS or ENDOGENOUS plants is stated by Dieffenbach at 314. There are two species of *piperaceæ;* one of these, the piper excelsum, is very common, and its leaves form a good and apparently healthy substitute for tea. The *coniferæ* and *taxdeæ* comprise eleven or twelve species, and afford the most valuable descriptions of timber. The habitat of the majestic dammara australis, or kauri, is limited to the northern extremity of the North Island, and has a range of less than three degrees of latitude, and one degree of longitude; even in these narrow boundaries it is by no means a common tree, but is entirely confined to hilly situations. The smooth, grey, columnar stems, measure from thirty to

* "The east and south coast of the Middle Island is for the most part unwooded, and grass is the prevailing vegetation; the "phormium tenax" prevails on strong rich land. and the bull-rush on tracts of very wet land. Where grass is found, on the lowest plains and valleys, the land is generally very dry and sterile, and the grass. which grows in detached tufts, affords but very indifferent pasture. The grassy uplands adjacent to the coast afford better pasture." [Diary of Mr. Tuckett.]

forty feet in circumference, and maintain very nearly the same girth through a length of from sixty to even ninety feet. The crown of the tree, where it is irregularly branched, is small, and out of proportion to the trunk; and the foliage is likewise diminutive as compared with the branches. The wood is very light in proportion to its great strength and durability; it is therefore admirably adapted for spars and masts. The land on which it grows, even when cleared, is useless for occupation, from the rugged nature of the ground, and from the quality of the soil: it is one of the most remarkable phenomena in botany that such an immense tree should flourish where it could scarcely be supposed able to take root. The resin which it exudates is very hard, and forms large solid masses at the base of the tree. It is generally of a whitish colour, but through age, and, as it would seem, exposure to the sea-water, it assumes the golden yellow colour of amber, becomes transparent, and very closely resembles that substance. The kauri is the only coniferous pine in New Zealand; all the others bear berries, and ought to be classed amongst the very numerous family of the podocarpi or taxideæ, except the matai or mai, and the miro (dacrydium matai, and podocarpus ferruginea), which must be separated into a peculiar genus, as the fleshy part of their seed-vessels do not surround the seed in the shape of a cup, as in the true taxideæ, but they bear drupes. The former* is a tree of moderate dimensions, affording a brittle close-grained wood, apparently capable of receiving a high polish; the latter grows from forty to sixty feet high, but does not attain a circumference of more than twelve feet; its wood is adapted for the spars of small vessels. The phyllocladus trichomanoides (tanekaha), or parsley-leaved pine, is a valuable tree, of straight tapering growth, sometimes attaining the height of sixty feet, but rarely exceeding three feet in diameter. Being less affected with wet than any other pine, it is much sought after for the decks of vessels, and all kinds of outside work; and its bark is used by the natives for dyeing a red colour. The podocarpus totara, with its dark green foliage, reddish bark, and gnarled trunk, is a noble tree; it varies in circumference from six to eighteen feet, and frequently sends forth no branches within sixty feet of the ground, when they spring forth at an acute angle and form crowns at some distance from each other. It is much used for canoes, its durability being rather increased than diminished by lying in the water; it is besides comparatively easy to work. Where the totara is the predominant growth, the soil is mostly sandy or stony.

The dacrydium plumosum (kawaka) is a graceful acacia-like tree, which rarely attains a large size: the dacrydium excelsum (kahikatea) is a white pine, often exhibiting a clear stem of 80 feet, and with its branched head, attaining the height of 120 and 130 feet, and exceeding 5 feet in diameter. It is found in low, swampy ground, and has the quickest growth, and the least durability of its class. From its young shoots, which exude a bitter resinous juice, Captain Cook prepared a kind of spruce beer, which he found beneficial in the scorbutic disorders with which his seamen were affected. Its fruit is much prized by the natives, and the smallness of its size is compensated by its abundance. It also yields a resin, very bitter, but eatable. The fruit of the dacrydium cupressimum (rimu) resembles that of the kahikatea. Its wood and resin partake the same qualities, but its appearance is more imposing, it being the most beautiful of the description of trees, incorrectly, but very generally called New Zealand pines, especially when young; its pendant foliage being then remarkably graceful. It comes to its greatest perfection in shaded woods, and in moist, rich soils. Its topmost branches are about eighty feet from the ground; the diameter of its trunk seldom exceeds four feet. Captain Vancouver, who found the rimu in abundance at Dusky Bay, cut down several of these trees to refit his vessel, and found the timber solid and close-grained, and very much resembling the Bermuda cedar. Passing the families of the *urticeæ, labiatæ, boragineæ* (gen. anchusa and myosotis), *convolvulaceæ, gentianeæ, loganieæ, apocyneæ, oleineæ, sapoteæ,* and *myrsineæ,* we reach the *epacrideæ,* among which the dracophyllum is the most remarkable. According to Dieffenbach, some idea may be formed of it by imagining a pink that has become

* "The mai (called black pine), the heaviest and best of the numerous varieties of the yew, the kaihikatea, another yew tree (called white pine), and the buccatea, a species of laurel, are—particularly the first and last named—unfailing criterions of fertile soil. These only grow in fat and compact alluvial land, and are not abundant, since true alluvial soil is of rare occurrence and very limited extent in New Zealand. The rimu and totara, on the contrary, when they predominate, indicate sterility." [Mr. Tuckett.]

so gigantic as to reach the size of a hazel-nut tree.

Of *ericeæ*, there is the genus gaultheria (3 species); the families of *campanulaceæ, styllideæ, goodenoviæ*, and *compositæ*, are represented: the two last by one genus; the first more extensively. Of compositæ, are the tribes *cichoraceæ, vernoniaceæ, asteroideæ*, and *senecionideæ*, which last has numerous genera. The sow-thistle springs up spontaneously in every spot which has been cultivated, and is much used as a vegetable by the natives. Of *rubiaceæ*, 8; of *coneæ*, 1; and of *umbelliferæ*, 5 genera are found. The *araliaceæ*, spread especially in South America, and are a remarkable family. In New Zealand four genera are found, of which the aralia crassifolia is the most striking: its long, narrow leaves spread out in a circle from the top of a very slender stem, and hang down in the shape of an umbrella.

Of *oxalideæ* there is 1 genus; *geraniaceæ*, geranium, 2 species; pelargonium, 1; of *hypericineæ*, 1; *meliaceæ*, 1; *sapindaceæ*, the aledryon excelsum, the berries of which are used for making oil; *bombaceæ*, 1; *tiliaceæ*, 1; *eleocarpeæ*, 2. The eleocarpus hinau is a moderate-sized tree, whose wood is very white, but almost valueless, as it splits when exposed either to wet or warmth. It affords an excellent dye; either a light brown or puce colour, or a deep black. The fruit forms the favourite food of the large parrot, and the natives separate the farinaceous shell from the hard and oily kernel by friction in a wooden trough, and form it into cakes. Of the *sterculiaceæ, malvaceæ* (gen. hibiscus,) *lineæ, caryophylleæ, elatineæ, pittosporeæ, droseraceæ, violarieæ*, and *flacourtianeæ*, there are one, or at the most, two genera. Of the *cruciferæ* there are four, including the nasturtium and cardamine; of *ranunculaceæ*, the ranunculus, and the clematis, which adorns the forests with its starry flowers, and is wreathed by the Maori girls in the tresses of their soft, dark hair. The *corynocarpeæ* and *griselineæ* have each one genus.

Of the *saxifrageæ*, the chief genus is the leiospermum, of which, the species racemosum (tawhero) is a good sized tree, which forms extensive forests, and affords a strong wood adapted for the same purposes as mahogany. *Crassulaceæ*, 1 genus. Among the *ficoideæ* there exists one species of the genus mesembryanthemum, and the tetragonia expansa, or New Zealand spinach, which, however, in the northern island, is very rare. *Passifloraceæ*, 1 genus; *cucurbitaceæ*, 1; *halorageæ*, 3; *onagrarieæ*, 2; the epilobium, and fuschia; of the latter there are two species, both very abundant.

The genera of the *myrtaceæ*, though not numerous, are, some of them, very widely distributed, while others form most beautiful and useful trees; the leptospermum erecoides (kahikatea), has sometimes a stem of one foot in diameter, and affords an extremely hard and durable wood; the leptospermum scoparium (manuka) supplies the place of the tea shrub; its blossoms exhale a fragrant perfume; it prevails over a vast surface of cold, poor land, retentive of moisture, having a stunted growth of from a foot to a yard in height; on warmer and drier land it has a more luxuriant growth, and resembles a thick coppice of naked poles, of extremely hard wood, attaining a height of thirty feet. The metrosideros robusta (rata) is called by Dieffenbach the king of New Zealand trees, being the hardiest and most lasting; the m. pohutukaua affords, perhaps, the most durable crooked timber that exists, and its crimson blossoms render it a very ornamental tree; the wood of the m. buxifolia is extremely hard and heavy, fit for cabinet work. There are several other species of metrosideros, one of which (m. hypericifolia) sometimes lines the cliffs, fixing its tendrils firmly to the rock, as the ivy does. The myrtus bullata (genus eugeniæ) is also common to Chilian forests. Of *rosaceæ*, is the acoena sanguisorba, a herb common to New Zealand and Van Diemen's Island, whose seeds attach themselves so firmly to the fleece of the sheep, that they can scarcely be separated in the washing.

The *leguminosæ* has 3 genera, peculiar to New Zealand. *Rhamneæ*, 5; *coriarieæ*, 1; the coriaria sarmentosa (tupakihi), a very common shrub, bearing clusters of berries growing like bunches of grapes, from which a liquid (tutu) is extracted somewhat resembling elderberry wine; the seeds and leaves contain a very acrid poison, and often produce violent symptoms when eaten by cattle. *Rutaceæ*, 1. Of *euphorbiaceæ*, the euphorbia glauca grows amongst the shingle of the sea-shore, and on barren hills. *Santalaceæ*, 1; *thymelæa*, 1. Of the proteaceæ, the tora (persoonia tora) and rewarewa (knightia excelsa), are the only known species. The latter yields a very beautiful wood, mottled with red upon a

ground of light brown; its dark purple flowers render it, while growing, a picturesque tree. It is the sole representative of the banksias, of which such a variety of species are known in New South Wales. Some species of the *laurineæ* are very common; the l. tarairi and calicaris form groves on the banks of rivers, especially in the vicinity of Waimate and Kaitaia; the l. tawa covers the upper regions of dry hills, especially on the Tararua Mountains, where it forms continuous forests, and bears a fruit somewhat resembling a wine sour plum, very sweet, with a slight flavour of turpentine. Of the *atherospermeæ*, the laurelia Nov. Zeland. forms a moderate sized tree. Of the *polygoneæ*, there are the genera, polygonum and rumex; a species of the latter, the crispus or common dock, has spread over extensive districts, through the disgraceful imposition practised by a knavish European, who sold the seeds to a native for those of the tobacco plant; *chenopodieæ*, 2; *amaranthaceæ*, 1; *peronychicæ*, 1; *plantagineæ*, plantago major, and varia; *primulaceæ*, the anagallis arvensis and samolus litoralis.

Of *scrophularineæ*, the genus veronica has as many as nine species. Some of them, peculiar to New Zealand, form shrubs, and bear very beautiful flowers. To the same family also belong the gratiola sexdentata and euphrasia cuncata.

Of *cyrtandraceæ*, is the rhabdothamnus solandri. Of *solaneæ*, the berries of the *solanum laciniatum* are eaten by the natives, and its leaves used as cataplasms for ulcers. They also eat the leaves of another small species of the same genus. Of *myoporineæ*, the avicennia tomentosa is the mangrove of New Zealand, covering numerous shallow inlets. Of *verbenaceæ* (same order as the teak), the vitex littoralis is the "puriri" of the natives, and, from its hardness and durability, is the "oak" of the colonists. The wood splits freely, works well, and is not injured by exposure to damp; its only drawback for the timbers of ships or for the knees of boats, is the injury caused by the perforations of a large grub peculiar to the tree. The dark leaves, pink flowers, and cherry-like fruit of the puriri, have a pleasing appearance. It grows from fifteen to thirty feet without a branch, and varies from twelve to twenty feet in circumference.

The following tabular view of the timber trees of New Zealand, with their uses and relative stiffness, strength, and toughness, is given in the New Zealand Church Almanac for 1847:—

| Name. | Uses. | Stiffness. | Strength. | Toughness. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Tawhero | All purposes to which Mahogany is applied | 93 | 96 | 99 |
| 2 Matai | Cabinet Work and Musical Instruments | 73 | 67 | 61 |
| 3 Koakoa | Furniture and Fancy Work, for which Cedar is used | 81 | 72 | 60 |
| 4 Totara | All works exposed to water, or under the ground, and for pannel work of houses | 49 | 61 | 57 |
| 5 Rata | All purposes to which Oak and Beach are applied | 89 | 103 | 138 |
| 6 Puriri | Piles under water or ground; also ground plates, sleepers, posts, &c., where durability is required. Same qualities as English Oak | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 7 Akeake | Very hard and heavy, fit for cabinet work | — | — | — |
| 8 Manuka | Turning, Carving, &c. | — | — | — |
| 9 Mangiao | Agricultural Implements. Oars, and all the uses of Ash | 89 | 119 | 160 |
| 10 Kauri | Scantling, plank, ship spars, &c. | 90 | 99 | 102 |
| 11 Tanekaha | Spars of small vessels. Outside work | 98 | 103 | 134 |
| 12 Miro | Uses similar to Tanekaha | — | — | — |
| 13 Mapau | Chair-making and carpenters' tools | 78 | 92 | 103 |
| 14 Rewarewa | Axe handles, and small cabinet-work | 54 | 60 | 85 |
| 15 Pohutukaua | Timbers of ships, and all work in which curved timber is required | 126 | 109 | 94 |
| 16 Wharangipiro | Cabinet-work, in which Satin wood is used | — | — | — |
| 17 Rimu | All building purposes | 90 | 81 | 95 |
| 18 Maire | Two varieties, white and dark; white good for sheaves, cogs, &c., the dark for cabinet work | — | — | — |
| 19 Kowhai | Cabinet work instead of rosewood | — | — | — |
| 20 Kohekohe | All uses to which cedar is applied | — | — | — |
| 21 Rohutu | Chair and cabinet making | — | — | — |
| 22 Kahikatea | Inside building work. Packing cases | 54 | 68 | 85 |

*Note.*—Puriri, being equal to the English Oak in stiffness, strength, and toughness, has been made the standard of comparison.

Many European fruits and vegetables have been introduced by the missionaries and settlers, and thrive well, varying, of course, with the climate, and more or less sheltered aspect of the localities in which they are planted. Apricot and peach trees have sprung up where the stones have been dropped by chance, and bear abundantly; melons and other fleshy fruits arrive at great perfection.

The grape grows well under the influence of the warm and equable climate of Nelson, and good wine will, probably, be eventually produced there. The Cape gooseberry flourishes almost like a weed, the hop plant has been introduced and cultivated, with considerable success, though, as yet, only on a small scale.

Of potatoes (supposed to have been first introduced by Captain Cook), several of the best kinds have been more recently brought both from England, and Van Diemen's Land, where they arrive at great perfection. Maize was introduced some time subsequent to Cook, but before New Zealand became a British colony; it is not known by whom. Tobacco is found to grow freely, especially in the northern part of the northern island. A variety of the coarser English grasses have been sown—but few of the finer sheep grasses have as yet reached New Zealand. Mr. W. Swainson, a Wellington settler who has expended much care and labour in their cultivation, writing in 1847, dwells strongly on the quantity of inferior seed which had been brought out by the colonists, and mentions as the grasses at that time most wanting, the *Phleum pratruse* (Timothy grass) and *Cynosorus cristatus* (dog's-tooth grass).

Fauna.—The flora of New Zealand is very limited in species, considering the extensive area and varied climate of these islands; and the fauna is yet more so. Captain Cook, in 1769, found no trace of any quadruped, except what he described as "a sort of fox-dog, and a few rats:" neither have more recent explorers. The only native tradition respecting the former existence of any animal, appears to indicate that a gigantic species of ape once dwelt in the wooded fastnesses of the Middle Island (see p. 314.) A small species of bat (vespertilio tuberculatus) was figured by Forster, who accompanied Cook in his second voyage. The dog is not the same as the Australian dingo, but a much smaller variety, resembling the jackal, and of a dirty yellowish colour. It is now rarely met with, as almost the whole race of the island has become a mongrel breed. A native dog is not a sufficiently powerful animal to do harm to domestic sheep; but it is different with the introduced and mongrel dogs, mostly bull-terriers, which are savage sheep or pig hunters, although with men they are great cowards. In the absence of better sport, they hunt young birds. The natives have a tradition, that their ancestors brought the dog with them when they first peopled New Zealand; but the Spanish word *perro*, occasionally applied to this animal, renders it probable that it was left here by some early Spanish navigator.

There are now two descriptions of rats, one called by the natives "kiore maori" (indigenous rat,) and the other—which is the English, not the Norway rat—" kiore pakeha" (strange rat.) On the former they fed largely in former times; but it has now become very scarce, owing to the exterminating warfare carried on against it by the European rat. The natives never eat the latter, as they declare the flesh to be most unpalatable.

The common domestic mouse has been introduced—it is not known in what manner; and also its sworn foe, the cat, which often runs wild, and soon assumes the streaky-grey colour of these animals in their natural state.

Pigs, introduced by Captain Cook, have thriven well, and multiplied prodigiously. Large numbers of wild hogs range the hills in perfect freedom, feeding upon the young fern root, and occasionally varying their diet by a banquet of fish. Emerging from the thickets at the ebb of tide, they crunch the oysters and immense cockles with which the sand-beaches are everywhere strewn, until the return of tide drives them again inland. They are generally black, and in flavour resemble mutton, rather than English pork. The natives hunt them, in their wild state, with dogs; but when keeping them as stock, rear them carefully: and the Maori females frequently pet young pigs, much in the same manner as European ladies fondle dogs and kittens, the "puorka" evincing, in return, considerable sagacity and attachment.

The horse, ass, sheep, ox, goat, and other European quadrupeds, have been introduced and acclimated without difficulty.

Ichthyology.—The marine mammalia were formerly very abundant on the shores

of New Zealand; so much so, that the whale and seal fisheries were reckoned upon as affording a sure source of revenue, and the staple for immediate and profitable export. The ruthless slaughter of the breeding whale and her young, has materially injured this profitable traffic: the whales now migrate to more peaceful shores, and the seals have almost disappeared.

Among the *phocidæ* are, or have been found, the bottle-nose seal (phoca leonina;) the sea lion and lioness (otaria jubata;) and the sea bear (arctocephalus ursinus,) or fur seal of commerce, which is black, and from six to ten feet in length: it was formerly hunted in great numbers, especially on the western coast of the Middle Island, in Stewart's Island, and the Chatham Islands: now, only straggling individuals are met with.

*Delphinidæ.*—The dolphin (delphinus Zelandiæ,) and the grampus (delphinus orca,) is called by South Sea men the killer, from the destructive war it wages against the whale.* This description of fish are very numerous on the shores of New Zealand, especially in Cook Strait. Bishop Selwyn, in his *Journal* for 1848, records visiting a bay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where "shoals of black fish and porpoises were enjoying their evening gambols, their dark bodies contrasting strangely with the red light reflected from the sun-set on the calm water, from which they sprang into the air, and fell back again, tracing all imaginable curves, with their awkward bodies, in their descent. It never happened to me to see so many fish out of water before. These monsters of the deep were not very pleasant neighbours; for their great amusement seemed to be to jump as near the boat as they could without touching it, and then make their bow, and dive under its bottom." (p. 69.)

*Balænidæ.*—The sperm whale (physeter macrocephalus,) is not uncommon in the latitudes of New Zealand, and often falls a prey to the ships which cruise in the open sea; but the cachelot does not approach shallow coasts and inlets, its habits being different from those of the black whale, from which it also differs in another important respect, its enormous lower jaw, in place of a comparatively harmless bone, being furnished with a set of teeth, which have often proved capable of crushing a boat into splinters. According to Polack, these whales frequently measure eighty feet in length, and contain, in the upper part of the head, as much as fifteen barrels, or 448 gallons of spermaceti. The substance called ambergris is found either in a single mass, or in many pieces, in the excremental glands of the sperm whale: the agreeable odour for which it is famed does not exist when it is first ejected; on the contrary, the smell is then of the most fœtid and offensive description. The outer skin of the whales differs much in colour, varying between white, black, ochreous, mottled, and dingy red. The humpback, or gibbosa, derives its name from the fat and cellular protuberance on its back; it is smaller, and yields less oil than the black, or right whale. The finback (balæna physalis,) has a greater length, and much less breadth than the preceding. It is distinguishable, at a great distance, by a fin projecting from the hinder part of the back, sometimes rising from three to six feet in height: its pursuit is peculiarly difficult and dangerous, as it is very swift and wary. The pike-headed balæna much resembles the finback; but it is smaller, seldom acquiring a greater length than forty feet, with a circumference of sixteen.†

The musculus, or large-lipped whale (balænopterus musculus,) has an immense upper lip, is common, and sometimes measures sixty feet in length. The black, or right whale (balæna antipodum australis, or antartica,) is the description generally captured. They are frequently found seventy feet in length, and belong (as do the finback and humpback) to the great division of the cetacea, known by the sieve-like, or screening apparatus (baleen) with which the mouth is provided, which furnishes the whalebone of commerce, and distinguishes them from the cachelot, or sperm whale. Another difference is, that the former have two spiracles, or breathing holes, in the centre of the forehead; the latter have also two within the head, but only one exterior aperture; consequently, when breathing, (which they can do only by raising their immense heads out of the water,) they "blow" through that single spiracle, ejecting the water, with a loud noise, to the height of many feet. Polack, writing in 1838, records another species, called the razor-back, from that part being remarkably serrated, with the mouth very pointed, like that of the porpoise.

The bays, creeks, and inlets of New

* Polack, vol. ii., p. 407.

† Polack, vol. ii., p. 406.

Zealand abound with fish of various descriptions. Large shoals of several species visit the coasts at certain seasons, and are caught by the natives in immense seines, made of unprepared flax, in the same manner as those used in Europe; they are then dried in the sun. Some descriptions are captured with a canoe-shaped piece of wood, lined on one side with a thin plate of the pawa shell (haliotus), in imitation of a fish, with a hook formed of bone, a feather of the aptery being used for a fly. Flat fish and rays are transfixed with wooden spears in the shallow bays; fish of the genera *scomber, trigla,* serranus, sparus, balistes, labrus,* and *conger,* are caught either with the seine, or with hooks; a *myxene* with the hand, and four kinds of fresh-water eels† by baiting a skilfully constructed, funnel-shaped, basket of wicker-work. Large salt-water crawfish are caught by diving, in which art the women are very expert; fresh-water crawfish, which are common in the inland lakes and rivulets, are taken with bait.

A species of shark, which at Midsummer —that is, at Christmas—visits these shores in countless numbers, is held in high estimation; the flesh is dried and eaten, and the tooth worn as an ornament in the ears of both sexes.

The "hapuka," the best and heaviest fish in New Zealand, is caught in pretty deep water, near reefs and rocks; it generally weighs from 10 to 70lbs., but occasionally reaches above 100lbs. It resembles the cod, but is of superior flavour; it is very nutritive, and the head and shoulders, when cooked, seem a mass of jelly. The "kawai" (centropristes trutta, or mulloides), resembles the salmon in its habits, entering in summer the bays, inlets, and fresh-water streams, in large shoals; in appearance it is like the mackerel, but is inferior in flavour. The "wareho" is something like the kawai, but better eating, being very palatable when cured and smoked.

The "tamore," or snapper; the "manga," or barracouta, a fish about two or three feet in length, with a long sharp snout, and free from scales; the "mango," or dog-fish, and various other descriptions, are caught by the natives, dried and stored in large quantities. The "moki" (latris ciliaris), is a good fish, something like the dorey. There are but few kinds of fresh-water fish; but eels of the finest description abound in the swamps, lagoons, rivers; and a small fish, very like the "white-bait" of the Thames, is plentiful in most of the rivers, and in the inland lakes. An excellent description of lamprey is caught in many streams during freshets. The conger eels are sometimes very large, measuring six feet in length, and as thick as a man's arm.

Oysters (ostrea cristata), mussels of immense size, cockles, and other shell-fish abound.

Ornithology.—The indigenous birds of New Zealand now in existence, are not remarkable either for variety of species, song, or plumage; neither are they of sufficient size or number to supply the deficiency so manifest, in the natural productions of these islands, of articles adapted for the sustenance of animal life. Several species appear to have become extinct; and the introduction of the dog, and more recently of the cat, have, doubtless, contributed to diminish their numbers, especially as some, such as the rails, possess very limited powers of flight, and one class, the apterix, cannot fly at all, being devoid of wings. The song-birds commence the melody described by Cook, (who heard them off the shore about a quarter of a mile distant,) as resembling "small bells, most exquisitely tuned," about two hours after midnight, and cease at sunrise, being, like our nightingales, silent for the rest of the day; but they are not replaced by a host of warblers, like those whose joyous notes ring through the woods and dales of Britain.

* A singularly beautiful fish, frequently caught in Cook Strait, is nearly allied, if it be not identical with the species described by Cuvier, under the name of trigla papilionacea. It is of a bright orange-colour; its pectoral fins are large and membranous, and of an emerald green, bordered with white. Near the tail is a spot of velvet black dotted with white.—Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 65.

† Mr. Brunner, during his exploration of the northern part of the Middle Island, found a particular tapu, or superstition, existing among the natives relative to the eel. He says, "You must wash your hands before going to catch them, and also on returning, and the bait must be prepared some distance from the house. There must be a distinct fire for cooking the eel, for which you must have a special tinder-box; your hands and mouth must be washed both before and after partaking of them; and should it be necessary to drink from the same stream from which the eels are caught, you must have two vessels of water, the one to drink from, the other to dip from the stream. Whether this relates to particular places or not I am not able to say; but I found it strictly adhered to at Okitika and Okaritu. At the former place I had to walk half a mile for water, with a stream running within a few yards of our station." Other travellers also mention various superstitious observances on the part of the natives.

Some there are, however, of considerable interest and beauty, whose names and most striking peculiarities are noticed in the subjoined enumeration of the species at present known and described.

*Falconidæ*—falco harpe, a large and powerful hawk, and falco brunnea, a sparrow hawk, exceedingly swift of wing, whose powerful talons few birds that it pursues can escape.

*Strigidæ*—athene Novæ Seelandiæ, a small owl, called by the settlers, "more pork," from its habit of pertinaciously and distinctly reiterating this phrase for about half-an-hour before day-break. *Hirundinidæ*—there are said to be several species of swallows in New Zealand.

*Alcedinidæ*—halcyon vagans—a species of king-fisher, about the size of a jay, with rich and varied plumage.

*Upupidæ*—the neomorpha gouldii—called "uia," by the natives, from its cry, is a very curious bird about the size of a magpie, with long, slender, and yellowish legs and feet. The plumage is of a glossy black, inclining to a green metallic lustre; its four tail feathers, long, broad, and tipped with white at the extremity, for about three-quarters of an inch, are highly valued as ornaments for the heads of chiefs on grand occasions. The white bill is slender, and semicircular in form; at its base are two wattles of a rich orange colour, a peculiarity which other New Zealand birds also possess. The flesh is delicate and palatable.

*Meliphagidæ.*—This family includes the prosthemadera Nov. Zeland., the most amusing, and one of the most common birds found in these islands, called by the natives "tui," on account of its note, and by Europeans, the "mocking-bird," from its propensities, and the "parson-bird," from its appearance, two small clusters of long white feathers hanging down from the neck upon the breast, resembling clerical bands. It is about the size of a thrush, of a beautiful glistening black, with a few fine white hairy feathers about the head and breast. There is not a note of any bird of the woods, but what it exactly imitates; and when confined in a cage, it readily learns to repeat long sentences. It imitates dogs, cats, turkeys, geese, and, in fact, every sound within hearing, whether made by bird, biped, or quadruped. Power speaks of it as, even in its native, and, consequently, undomesticated state, "the jolliest and sauciest of the bird kind" he had ever met with, and an excellent companion, chattering, whistling, and playing all sorts of antics. Its general food is flies and small insects, which it is very expert in catching, and the berries of various plants; but at certain seasons it may be seen extracting with its long slender tongue, the honey contained within the clustering crimson blossoms of the pohutukaua, with the relish of an epicure. The ptilotis cincta, or "kotihe," (also a honey eater,) is a bird about the size of a goldfinch, has a slender dark beak, nearly an inch long; is as beautiful as the linnet in plumage, and more elegantly formed. The anthornis melanura, or "kokorimako," a small bird with dark brown plumage tinged with green, at long intervals enlivens the woods with its melodious notes.

Of the *certhidæ*, there are several species:—the acanthisitta citrina, a. tenuirostris, a. punctata, a. longipes, and mohoua ochrocephala, which last is a social bird of a yellowish colour, having much the habits of the finch.

*Luscinidæ*—The sphenæacus punctatus, or "matata," is a small dusky-coloured bird, with a short and heavy flight, which lives in swamps and among fern; the acanthiza igata; certhiparus senilis; c. Nov. Zeland., and the c. maculicaudus, belong to the same family. *Turdidæ*—turnagra crassirostris.

*Musicapidæ*—musicapa ventilabrum, or fan-tailed fly-catcher, a bold, restless little bird, spreading its tail to the radius of full six inches, though its body is scarcely larger than a walnut; it is very useful in destroying the sand-flies and mosquitoes; r. macrocephala; r. melanura, a bird between six and seven inches long; miro albifrons, m. longipes; m. forsterorum, a bird about seven inches long, of deep shining black, with the breast and abdomen yellow; and m. toi-toi, a little bird no bigger than a tom-tit, which feeds on insects. *Corvidæ*—callaeas cinerea, the New Zealand crow, resembles that of Europe; its plumage is of a very dark green. *Sturnidæ*—aplonis Zelandicus; a. obscuris; a. australis, and the creadion caruncalatus, which is very common, and about the size of a blackbird, called tiera-waki by the natives, from the sound of its loud and frequent cry. Its flesh is delicate.

*Fringillidæ.*—The alauda Nov. Zeland., or ground-lark, is perhaps the most numerous species found in these islands; it is unfortunately no songster. Of the *psittacidæ*, the plater cercus, Nov. Zeland., and the tri-

choglossus aurifrons, are two species of parroquets, neither of them much larger than a canary-bird, with bright green plumage, and red or yellow about the head; who build their nests in holes of trees, associate in flocks, and are very mischievous to the corn-fields in fresh clearings; the nestor meridionalis, or "kaka," is larger; it appears closely allied to that isolated, and now, probably, exterminated species, the Port Phillip parrot, and has many peculiarities in its shape and habits. The bill is more elongated than that of other parrots; the plumage is varied and beautiful; the tongue small, terminating in several filaments. These parrots seem to have regular times of feeding; early in the morning they are found on the trees which yield their food; during the heat of the day they play about quietly in the topmost branches of high trees. Before the sun sets they assemble and fly with discordant screams over the forest. When it is dark they become silent; but rarely an hour of the night passes that one of their fluting calls is not heard, and with the dawn they are again in full activity. They nest in hollow trees, laying four or five white eggs. Their flesh is tender and well flavoured; and the natives are very expert in enticing them by means of decoy birds, or by imitating their cry. When one is caught or wounded, the rest hover about it with screams, and, one after another become the victims of their commiseration.*

*Cuculidæ.*—There are two species of cuckoo—eudynamys taitensis, and chrysococcyx lucidus; both these birds are migratory, appearing near the coasts in the month of December. The latter is known to lay its eggs in the nests of smaller birds, especially in that of the fantail fly-catcher.

*Columbidæ.*—A large wood-pigeon (carpophaga, Nov. Zeland.,) with handsome and varied plumage, is very common; it is good eating, and being slow and heavy on the wing, is easily captured. Of the *tetraonidæ,* there is one very scarce species. To the *struthionidæ* belongs the rare and curious apteryx australis, or kiwi-kiwi, a nocturnal bird, which inhabits the deepest recesses of the forest, and generally lives in pairs, one pair occupying a certain district. At night-fall it leaves its hiding place in search of food, and strikes the ground with its strong, heavy foot, or turns it up with its long, slender beak, to put in motion the earth-worms, upon which it feeds. In appearance it is awkward and ungainly; one writer (Yate) describes it as about the size of a three-months'-old turkey, covered with coarse, long, and slender feathers, like those of the Australian emu; another (Power), says it is the ugliest bird one can well imagine; stilted up on long, thick clumsy legs, with scarcely the rudiments of wings, with an overgrown head and long beak; it goes sniffling about as if afflicted with a bad cold in the head; "when it scents out its prey, which it can do at several inches under-ground, it charges at it with an alacrity and vigour one would hardly expect from its clumsy, dead-alive look, and plunges bill, head, and neck into the earth, kicking and spurring with its legs, often half burying itself before it is successful." (p. 74.) It was formerly much used for food; the natives hunted it with dogs by torch-light, generally after a fierce struggle, in which the kiwi used its powerful legs with considerable effect. The gigantic *moa,* the fossilized bones of which have been alluded to (p. 321), must have belonged to this order.

Of the *charadridæ* there are several species — c. xanthocheilus, a small bird with varied plumage; c. obscurus, a bird about the size of a thrush, of a spotted brown colour; and four or five other common, but not very interesting species.

*Ardeidæ.*— Botaurus melanotus, a bird somewhat resembling a crane, which dwells in swamps and marshes, and is very timid; and the herodias matook, or "matou cou" of the natives, a sort of bittern. Of the *scolopacidæ* (snipe), there is the himantopus Nov. Zeland., or "tutumata."

Of the *rallidæ* four species have been found: the ocrydromus australis contains the weka-weka, or wood-hen of the settlers, a bird with an exceedingly monotonous cry, which has become very scarce; the rallus assimilis, or "kataitai," is described by Yate as answering nearly to the godwit, feeding upon the sea-shore, and in sandy grounds; the r. Dieffenbachi, a bird about thirteen inches long, singularly streaked with many colours; and the beautiful porphyrio melanotus, the "pukeko" of the natives, a bird about the size of a pheasant, with plumage of a brilliant mazarine blue, a vermillion-coloured beak and top-knot. It is found in swamps; its legs are long, and its flight slow and heavy, like that of a bittern; the flesh is said to be hard and unpalatable.

Of the *anatidæ* there are several species;

* Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 57.

the casarca variegata (paradise duck), is of large size, and affords good eating; the anas superciliosa is well flavoured, nearly resembling the wild-ducks of England; the malacorynchus forsterorum, or "wiho," which inhabits the mountain streams of the interior, is a black duck with a white bill, whose cry is a shrill whistle, and its flesh fat and palatable; the spatula rhynchotis and fuligula Nov. Zeland., are likewise found.

Of the *colymbidæ*, or divers—a tribe which may be regarded as intermediate between the duck tribe and the *alcidæ*, all of which are aquatic birds, admirably adapted by their structure for their mode of life—there is but one species, the podiceps (poliocephelus) rufopectus; of the alcidæ (*penguin*,) one or two.

*Procellaridæ.*—Of this order there are six genera, including several species of the procellaria, and a large and splendid variety of that marine vulture, the albatross (diomedea exulans.) Of the procellaria, the most numerous description is the mutton bird, or "titi" of the natives, a bird about twelve or thirteen inches long, much used by them as an article of food. They catch them during the winter months, and preserve them, after extracting the bones, by cooking them in a shallow platter made of the bark of the totara tree, then placing them in the water-proof and air-tight bags afforded them by the long pods, of a description of sea-weed, they pour over them their own fat. Mr. Brunner speaks of having tasted birds kept for two years in this manner, and found them very good; he adds, that they keep eels and seals in the same way, using whale-oil for their preservation. The habits of the bird are peculiar: the female lays but one egg, which, in proportion to her size, is very large; she builds no nest, but deposits and covers it over in a deep channel, under the roots of trees, or at the sides of a cliff, and never leaves the place until it is hatched.—(Dieffenbach, vol. i., p. 148.) Of the *laridæ*, or gulls, there are four species: of the *pelecanidæ*, no less than eight. The most striking peculiarity of this family is the oar-like conformation of the foot, the hind toe being united to the rest by a continuous membrane, and the capability of the bird, notwithstanding, to perch on trees. Pelicans are numerous: they live, for the most part, on the ocean. The beautiful large-crested cormorants (phalacrocorax) are social birds, and build their nests, many together, on high branches overlooking the rivers and coasts. The snow-white frigate-birds (trachipeles aquilus) are nearly allied to the cormorant, but differ from them in the excessive spread of wing, which renders them the most powerful flyers of this or perhaps any tribe: they dart upon their prey from a great height, causing a loud noise from the violence with which they strike the water, and feed especially on the flying-fish, seizing it themselves when near the surface, or from other birds, whom they compel to drop their prey. The gannets are very like the frigate-birds, but the wings are less extended, and the power of flight inferior: they also hover in the air, waiting for the timorous flying-fish, as it leaps up to escape the jaws of the dolphin, or some other finny enemy. The air-cells are very largely developed in the gannet, especially under the skin of the breast, which is almost completely separated by them from the muscles beneath; and they probably serve as an elastic cushion, to break the force with which the body of the bird would otherwise impinge on the water.

Turkeys, geese, ducks, and common fowl have been introduced into New Zealand, and became readily acclimated. Pea-fowl and guinea-fowl have also been taken from England, but it is not known with what success.

Reptilia and Insecta.—Of either there are very few. No serpents or snakes of any description have been found; and the drawing of the latter, shown to Cook by a Maori, in 1775, was doubtless intended to represent a conger eel. A large guana appears formerly to have existed; but is now extinct. A small, harmless, and beautiful description of lizard is still frequently met with.

Among the *coleoptera* are several kinds of beetle. Among the *orthoptera*, two or three species of locust, which are not, however, found in great numbers, or very destructive; and one of the voracious mantis. Among the *neuroptera*, some beautiful kinds of dragon-fly, the largest of which (petalura carovei) measures from four to five inches in length; and two species of the short-lived ephemera, which, in their perfect state, take no food, and exist only a few hours. Ants (*hymenoptera*) exist, but in small numbers. Bees have been introduced most successfully. Among the homoptera are several species of the cicada, or grass-

hopper, some of which abound, and fill the woods and marshes with their chirping note. Two or three species, belonging to the *hemiptera* order, abound in the heated wooden huts of the natives. Among the *lepidoptera* are various destructive species of caterpillars, one of which is particularly pernicious to the potato plant. There are some moths and butterflies, but none very remarkable. The namu, or black sand-fly (*diptera,*) is the most numerous and annoying of New Zealand insects: though smaller than a gnat, it has a painful sting. Another annoying insect is the common maggot, or blow-fly, which deposits its eggs on all provisions, and also on blankets, and any other woollen clothing left uncovered. Mosquitoes are found in the woods. According to the natives, they have been recently introduced; as also a peculiar tormentor of the human race, belonging to the aphaniptera, which they sometimes call "pakeha nohi-nohi," the little stranger. Of the class *arachnidæ*, small harmless centipedes are common, especially among dry wood of the sea shore. There are many species of spiders, one of which is called "katipo," and reported to possess the venomous qualities of the tarantula.

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Present State and Prospects.—New Zealand has scarcely completed the first decade of its existence as a British colony, and for the greater part of that period its European and aboriginal inhabitants have been in a state of actual or incipient hostility, induced chiefly by the proceedings of the powerful association, who, possessing ample funds, and great political as well as social influence, have squandered the immense sums confided to their care, in a system of colonization, alike unsatisfactory in its working to the government, the colonists, and the shareholders. If this were all, and the "old man of the mountain" were now fairly removed, it might be well, perhaps, to let their broken pledges, their selfish and pernicious policy, be forgotten; but when on the strength of a clause in a public enactment, obtained by a disgraceful series of manœuvres, they claim to become extinct just in so far as is convenient, that is, in respect to their responsibilities, and with £100,000 of their own capital still uncalled for, to tax the land fund of New Zealand with a mortgage of £280,000, it behoves all interested in its welfare to take immediate steps for the prevention of so cruel an injustice.

The territorial rights of the natives have been fully acknowledged, and consequently the first obstacle to the peaceful progress of the colony has been removed; their admission to a voice in the legislature, it is to be hoped will be considered in the constitution of 1852; but there still remains another stumbling-block, the excessive price of land. Without going into the contested question of what proportion of the area of these islands is adapted for cultivation, it is at least certain that very little of it can be worth sixty, forty, or even twenty shillings an acre; and that, granting its wastes and wilds to possess all the elements of fertility, very few immigrants can afford to purchase them at so exorbitant a price. The consequence must be to convert would-be agriculturists into graziers, and in unwisely endeavouring to compel concentration, to bring about its opposite, a squatting population. This is evidently the tendency at the present moment. Even in the Northern Island, where there are so few grassy pastures, it is observable, especially in the instance previously alluded to, of the Wairarapa Plains; in the Middle Island it is far more conspicuous, and, indeed, the latest and fullest descriptions of the country seem to indicate its being adapted in general, rather for pastoral than agricultural pursuits, and more especially for cattle and horses. It is yet to be proved whether the pasturage of New Zealand be not too rank, and the climate too humid for sheep, deficient in the very points (the high dry downs and short nutritious grasses) which have made Australia the sheep-farm of England. If, however, the sanguine expectations now entertained be realised, it is probable that the Europeans will form the pastoral interest, either by holding large tracts of land on leasehold tenure, or squatting wherever they can find food for their flocks; while the Maories will become, as in fact they are now already, the chief producers of grain and vegetables; and thus the two races mutually dependent on each other, may become closely allied. If this be happily the case, New Zealand, with its important position, extensive coast line, and numerous havens, must become a valuable colony, one that a Christian nation may rejoice in having been the instrument of establishing, and a lasting record of the benefits effected by missionary exertions.

# BOOK IV.—ISLANDS OCCUPIED OR CLAIMED BY GREAT BRITAIN IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN AND IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

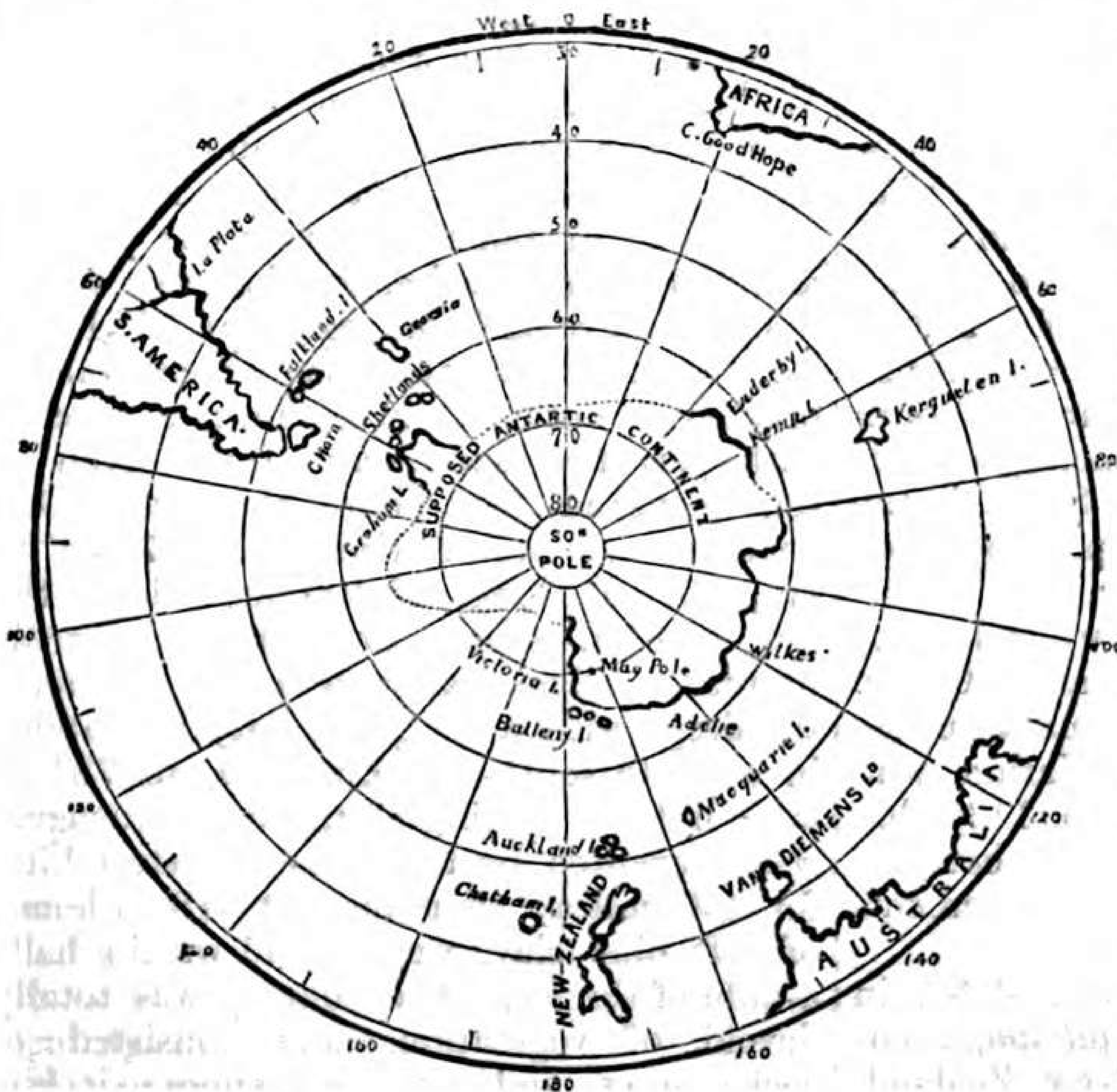
## CHAPTER I.

ANTARCTIC DISCOVERIES — VICTORIA LAND — THE FALKLAND, AUCKLAND, AND CHATHAM ISLANDS—POSITION, AREA, PHYSICAL FEATURES, PRODUCTS, &c.

The possessions of the crown of England, situated in the Great Southern Ocean, in and near the Antarctic Circle, are useful chiefly as fishing stations and positions, where whaling or sealing vessels may be refitted, and the crews refreshed, during the prosecution of their arduous and hazardous pursuits. Some, however, of the territories alluded to, consist of vast rocky regions, devoid of vegetation, and covered with snow, whose desolate, ice-bound shores, are visited only by the penguin and the seal, and the stillness of whose deep solitudes are unbroken save by furious tempests, and by eruptive towering volcanoes, which, ever and anon, send forth columns of vivid flame, contrasting strangely with the dreary aspect of the surrounding frozen zone.

On looking at the annexed delineation, three great promontories will be observed stretching towards the South Pole—that of Africa, termed the Cape of Good Hope, was discovered in 1486; that of America, termed Cape Horn, in 1616;* and the now insulated portion of Austral-Asia, termed Van Diemen's Land, in 1642.

When Magellan sailed, in 1520, through the straits which bear his name, it was conjectured that a great south land stretched from thence around the Antarctic Circle; and some geographers surmised, that a chain of islands connected the southern extremes of Africa and America. Subsequent explorations dispelled these ideas. In 1577, Drake, the first English seaman who circumnavigated the globe, passed from the Atlantic into the Pacific, by the Straits of Magellan. In 1616, Schouten and Le Maire, in two vessels, called the *Unity* and *Horn*, doubled the extreme south point of America, and proved the non-existence of the supposed *Terra-Austral.* A few years previous to this, however, another Dutchman (Gerard or Gerritz) was said to have been carried by a storm as far as 64° S. lat., where he sighted a mountainous country, looking like Norway, now known to be a group of islands — the South Shetlands.




* It has been supposed that Americus Vespucius, in 1502, penetrated as far south as the Falkland Islands, but there seems no sufficient ground for this opinion.

In 1592, John Davis (who sailed with Cavendish on his second voyage) discovered the Falkland Islands: their northern shores were coasted, two years afterwards, by Hawkins, who, unaware of their previous discovery, called the country *Hawkins' Maiden Land.* This name was superseded by Strong, an English navigator, who, in 1690, sailed through, and anchored in the Sound dividing the two main islands, to which he gave the name of *Falkland,* since applied to the whole archipelago. The islands called *Jason's,* or *Sebaldines,* at the north-western extremity of the group, obtained the latter designation from Sebald de Weert, who sighted them in 1600. They also received the general name of *Les Malouines,* in consequence of vessels from St. Malo visiting them between the years 1706 and 1714; and in compliment to one of the owners of these vessels, they were named *Anican Isles.* The Spaniards corrupted the word malouines into *malvinas,* and also into *maloon,* which term is sometimes used by English and Americans instead of island.*

On 23rd January, 1764, Commodore Byron (who had been sent from England by George III., on a mission to survey the Falklands, and to visit the South Seas) hoisted the union jack, fired a royal salute, and took possession of the islands in the name of his sovereign.

In 1769, and in subsequent years, Captain Cook proved the insularity of New Zealand, which Tasman had seen in 1642 (see p. 109); discovered an island, to which he gave the name of Georgia (see wood-cut;) traversed the Southern Pacific for 11,000 miles, without seeing land; made various important discoveries and surveys in the South Seas; and succeeded in advancing towards the South Pole, as far as 71° 10′ S. lat., in the meridian of 106° 54′ W. long., a position much beyond any that had been previously attained, when he was stopped by ice, which he supposed to extend around the Antarctic Circle.

In 1772, Kerquelen, a lieutenant in the French navy, under Captain Marion, who was killed at New Zealand (see p. 113,) discovered the island about midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's Island, which bears his name.

In 1791, Captain Vancouver, R.N., in H.M.S. *Discovery,* and the *Chatham,* Lieutenant Broughton, visited New Zealand. During this voyage Broughton discovered a group of islands to the eastward of New Zealand, to which he gave the name of *Chatham.* In 1818, the *South Shetland Islands,* in lat. 62°, were discovered by Captain Smyth, the commander of an English merchant vessel. In 1820, Captain Weddell discovered the *South Orkneys;* in 1823, the same enterprising seaman, in the course of a sealing expedition, with a brig of 160 tons, and a cutter of only 65, penetrated on the 20th of February to 74° 15′ S. lat.; 214 miles beyond the farthest point sighted by Cook. The sea was then open, and Weddell believed that the south pole might have been crossed or attained; but prudence, and the lateness of the season, compelled his return to the northward.

In January, 1832, Captain Biscoe, commanding a brig and cutter of Messrs. Enderby, engaged on a sealing voyage, discovered in 67° 1′ S. lat., 71° 48′ W. long., the westernmost of a chain of islands lying off the territory now known as *Graham's Land.* A group of five islands, one of them with a peak 12,000 feet above the sea, was discovered by a sealing commander named Balleny, in 1838. The lofty line of coast which is supposed to form part of the Antarctic continent, was visited by Admiral D'Urville, on the 21st of January, 1840, and called after his wife, *La Terre Adelie.* One week after, Commodore Wilkes, of the American navy, came in sight of the same territory, and entered a bay in 66° 45′ S. lat. In January, 1841, Captain (now Sir James) Ross, in his perilous and nobly-conducted expedition, saw an extensive and remarkable region, in 71° 15′ S. lat., consisting of two magnificent ranges of lofty mountains, whose summits, covered with perpetual snow, rose from seven to ten thousand feet above the sea. One peak, named Mount Erebus, in 77° 32′ S. lat., 167° E. long, 12,400 feet above the sea, emitted smoke and flame in great profusion. The mainland had a southerly trending, with a range of lofty mountains in a south-south-east direction, in 78° S. lat.; but the landing of the brave voyagers was prevented by lofty ice-cliffs stretching for 450 miles; soundings of 318 fathoms, of soft blue clay, were found within half-a-mile of the ice. The country was totally devoid of vegetation, and consisted of rocks, snow, and active volcanoes; it was taken possession of for, and named in honour of, Queen Victoria, and the flag of England planted on two of the larger adjacent islands.

* See *Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle,* by Captain Robert Fitz-Roy; vol. ii., p. 232.

I have given this imperfect sketch of the progress of discovery in the Antarctic Ocean, because the whaling and sealing voyages prosecuted in these regions, led to frequent communications with them; indeed, so considerable has been the traffic, that from the South Shetlands group alone, in 1821–22, no less than 940 tuns of oil, and 320,000 seal-skins, were obtained; and in the course of a few years, more than a million seal-skins, and 20,000 tuns of oil, have been brought into the London market from the islands and land near the south pole. Unfortunately the trade has of late materially diminished.

## THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

This singular archipelago, comprising nearly 200 islands and islets, covers an area of about 120 by 60 geographical miles, between the parallels of 51° and 53° S. lat., and the meridians of 58° and 61° W. long., and is distant about 7,000 miles from London. It lies 400 miles east of Patagonia, 300 north-east of Staten Island, 500 north-east of Cape Horn, and about 250 from the main land of South America, at the mouth of the Gallegos, and 1,000 from the Rio de la Plata. One hundred and seventy-two years after its discovery by Davis, Commodore Byron, as previously stated, took formal possession of the Falklands for the crown of England; and in the same year (1764), a M. de Bougainville proceeded thither with some Acadians and others, to found a settlement under the authority of the French government, but at his own expense. Spain then laid claim to the islands, declaring that they formed a part of her American possessions, and induced France to abandon the further prosecution of the scheme, on condition that the projector (Bougainville) and the colonists, should be indemnified for their losses; this was done, and on the 1st of April, 1767, the standard of Spain was hoisted, and royal salutes fired by the vessels present. Some of the settlers remained, others returned to Europe on board the Spanish ships.

Meanwhile the English government were commencing the establishment of a colony at Port Egmont, under a Captain Macbride, who, in consequence of Commodore Byron's favourable representations, was sent out in H.M.S. *Jason*, and reached the Falklands in January, 1766; but for three or four years, the English and the Spaniards were ignorant that they were both located on the same archipelago, and engaged in prosecuting similar objects.

As soon as the Spanish authorities in America and in Europe became aware of the colonizing operations of England at the Falklands, the usual arrogant spirit was manifested; and although the sovereigns of Great Britain and Spain were then at peace, two Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont in February, 1770; and on the 4th and 7th of June, five other frigates, with 1,400 troops on board, with artillery, &c., reached the harbour where the British flag was flying.

The English received orders from the Spanish commander immediately to quit the place. Their force, consisting only of the *Favourite* sloop of sixteen guns, and the crew of the *Swift*, which had been wrecked, offered only a nominal resistance, and capitulated on the 10th of June to the superior armament; articles were signed by the respective commanders, under which the English were permitted to depart, taking with them such stores as they could carry, and receipts for the rest, for which the Spaniards became responsible. The information of these proceedings caused much excitement in England; preparations for war were instantly made; an address was moved and carried in the House of Lords for the restoration of the islands to the British Crown, and a long and able protest against leaving the sovereignty an open question, was drawn up and signed by Lord Chatham, the dukes of Richmond and Devonshire, and fifteen other peers.

The Spanish government became alarmed; its ministry, through Prince de Maserano, then ambassador in London, in a declaration, dated the 22nd of June, 1771,* disavowed the violence complained of, offered satisfaction for the same, and agreed to restore the islands. The troops of his most Catholic Majesty returned to Buenos Ayres, and the British again took possession; but the settlement, on the 20th

* Translated copies of the official correspondence between the English and Spanish government, are given in the *Statistics of the British Colonies* published by Allen and Co. in 1839, for which I received the permission of her majesty's government. See appendix, *South America*, pp. 46, 47.

of March, 1774, was abandoned, not being then required. An inscription engraved on a piece of lead, and placed in a conspicuous position, notified the Falkland Islands, with the fort, storehouses, wharf, harbours, bays, and creeks, &c., to be "the sole right and property of his most sacred Majesty George III.," and the colours of Great Britain were accordingly left flying as a mark of possession.

For forty-six years nothing occurred worthy of note relative to these islands: they were visited by whaling ships, whose crews endeavoured to catch some of the wild cattle and horses, which had multiplied exceedingly, from a few head left there by the Spaniards. In 1820, Captain Weddell, when lying at Port Egmont, received notice from the captain of a South American Patriot National frigate, that "the supreme government of the provinces of South America had taken possession of these islands, in the name of the country to which they naturally appertain." In 1826, the Buenos Ayrean government granted, in perpetuity, to a German named Louis Vernet, the whole of the Eastern Island, and Staten Island, with their cattle and produce, on condition of his discharging certain arrears of pay which had accrued to some military officers in the Patriot service.

Vernet and his colleagues were to be exempted from taxation for twenty years, to possess an exclusive right to the fisheries throughout the whole archipelago, and on the coast of the adjacent continent, to the southward of the Rio Negro, on condition of a colony being established within three years. He induced others to co-operate with him, employed capital, carried on a trade in hides, oil, and salt fish, and proceeded vigorously to convert waste and dreary solitudes, into a useful and peopled settlement, which, he rightly foresaw, vessels of all nations would visit on their outward and homeward voyages round the "Horn." Desirous of enforcing his supposed rights, Vernet sought aid from the Argentine republic at Buenos Ayres: that government was unable to furnish him with a ship of war; but they nominally invested him with authority, as governor of the Malvinas (Falkland Isles) and Terra del Fuego, to neither of which, however, they had themselves even an ostensible title.

In 1829, Mr. Parish, the representative of the sovereign of England at Buenos Ayres, delivered a protest against this unwarranted occupation of the Falklands; and two years after, the British commander-in-chief on the South American station was directed to send a vessel of war, to cause any military force belonging to the Buenos Ayrean government to be conveyed from the islands. Before this, however, while the British government were still unaware of the occupation of the territory in question, M. Vernet, in virtue of his supposed authority as governor, had warned American sealing vessels not to pursue their avocations at the Falklands; and, in 1831, he seized some, and sent them to Monte Video to be confiscated.* Thereupon Captain Silas Duncan, of the United States corvette *Lexington*, then in the River Plate, proceeded on his own responsibility to the Falklands, attacked the settlement, made several of the inhabitants prisoners, destroyed much property, and carried Mr. Brisbane, the agent of M. Vernet, and others, prisoners, to Monte Video, in February, 1832. The cabinet at Washington approved Captain Duncan's proceedings, and sent a *chargé d'affaires* to demand compensation and full reparation for the injury done to their vessels. An angry correspondence ensued between the two republics, which was terminated by the British re-occupation of the islands, on the 2nd of January, 1833, when the standard of England was hoisted, and the small Buenos Ayrean garrison quietly withdrew. The rights of England being acknowledged, H.M.S. *Clio* and *Tyne* then left the Falklands, and the colours (to be hoisted on Sundays) were entrusted to the charge of an Irishman who had been M. Vernet's storekeeper. In 1834, a lieutenant in the royal navy, with a cutter and her crew, from one of our ships of war on the South American squadron, were stationed at Port Louis, and in 1842 a lieutenant-governor and a small establishment was appointed by her Majesty's government to form a colony, whose present condition will be shown in the following pages.†

Area and Physical Aspect.—Although this southern archipelago consists of between two and three hundred islands, there are but two of considerable size, viz., *East*

* For fuller accounts of these events, *vide Statistics of the British Colonies;* 1839: p. 45.

† Captain R. Fitz-Roy, R.N., who surveyed the Falklands, has recorded, in vol. ii. of his valuable work, many interesting facts respecting the history and natural productions of these islands.

*Falkland,* about eighty-five miles long, by forty broad, with an area of about 3,000 square miles, or nearly 2,000,000 acres, and *West Falkland,* about eighty miles long, by twenty-five to thirty broad, (exclusive of three extended arms,) with an area of about 2,000 square miles = about 1,300,000 acres. *Weddell Island,* to the westward of West Falkland, is about twelve miles long, by twelve broad. The rest of the group are small, and generally lie pretty close around the main territory, except the *Jason Isles,* which are to the north-west, and an islet, named Beauchêne, to the southward.

Probably no other region of a similar extent contains so many fine harbours. East and West Falkland are separated by Falkland Sound, which is about seventy miles in length, by five to fifteen in breadth. On both sides, especially on the eastern, are numerous harbours. It would be tedious to enumerate them : a few, however, of the more prominent may be mentioned.

*Berkeley Sound,* at the north-east extremity of East Falkland, is about twelve miles in length : at its head, on a rising ground, and in an exposed situation, Bougainville formed the settlement of Port Louis. The British officer in charge was some time located here, and the position was named Anson : the chief authority is now established at Port Stanley. *Port Salvador,* on the north, is a very extensive inlet, and there is a large cattle-taming station there. *Port San Carlos,* on the north-west coast, is a good haven, with two large locks running deep into the land. The Bay of Harbours, as its name denotes, contains several safe havens.

*West Falkland* is very much broken, especially along its western coast. *Keppel* and *Pebble Sounds,* on the north, with *Port Purvis* and *Port Egmont,* are capacious havens; but the latter is very difficult of approach. *Byron Sound* and *King George's Bay* are to the north and south of a long and elevated promontory, near the centre of the western coast. *Queen Charlotte's Bay,* with *Philomel Road* on the north, and *Port Richards* on the south, are good and extensive anchorages. On the southern coast there are *South Harbour, Ports Stephens, Albemarle,* and *Edgar.*

*Weddell Island* has *Chatham* on its northern, and *Quaker Harbour* on its western shore. *Beaver* and *New Island* have also secure anchorages. *Ship Harbour,* in the latter, is the best in West Falkland : good peat, for fuel, is very abundant there ; and on Ship Island, close at hand, it is inexhaustible. Plenty of good water is procurable close to the anchorage, which is in seven fathom water, on a stiff clay bottom.

The appearance of the Falklands from seaward is singular. Instead of a low, level, barren country, like Patagonia, or a high, woody region, like Tierra del Fuego, there are ridges of rocky hills, 2,000 feet high, traversing extensive moor tracts, devoid of trees, or sloping towards low and broken ground, with rocky, surf-beat shores. Around the archipelago, especially towards the south-east and north-west extremes, there are numerous islets and rocks, which, with strong tides and violent winds, make navigation dangerous. The view from the heights is very dismal : moor land and black bog extend as far as the eye can discern, intersected by innumerable streams, and dotted over with ponds of clear water, varying in size from half-a-mile to a few hundred feet across.* Much, however, of what seems barren moor is solid clay, covered with a thin layer of vegetable mould, on which grow shrubby bushes, and a variety of grasses.

East Falkland Island is nearly divided into two equal parts—*Choiseul Sound,* on the east side, being separated from *Brenton Sound* on the western by an isthmus, not more than a mile-and-a-half wide. Across the northern portion of East Island there is a range of very rugged-topped mountains, termed the *Wickham Heights,* whose elevation is from 800 to 2,000 feet above the sea. They form a chain from east to west; and as the quartz rock crops out nearly vertical, and with great irregularity, there are only a few passes where cattle can cross the range. On the south side of the mountains there is a continued undulating plain, whose greatest height is not sixty feet above the sea level, the undulations being from north-west to south-east, towards Berkeley Sound. The valleys or vales are numerous, each communicating with one or other of the shore-creeks or inlets. There are also several lakes and lakelets. There are but few rivers in these islands : the *San Carlos,* in the East Falkland, is the largest known ; it is very winding, and only about thirty miles in length ; navigable for boats a distance of about eight miles, for which distance the width averages 100 yards.

* *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle,* by Captain Fitz-Roy, R.N. ; vol. ii., pp. 227—240, &c.

On the north portion of the Western Island there are several elevated but isolated ranges: the *Hornby Hills*, running parallel to Falkland Sound, in about 51° 30′ S. lat., have a height of from 1,700 to 2,270 feet. *Mount Maria*, near *Port Howard*, is 2,185 feet above the sea. *Mount Edgeworth*, nearly midway between *Port Howard* and *Byron Sound*, is 1,920 feet. *Mount Adam*, distant ten miles to the south-west, is 2,315 feet. The *Byron Heights*, stretching to the westward along the peninsula, vary from 1,000 to 1,700 feet in altitude. There is supposed to be a fine and well-watered valley between the Hornby and Byron Heights. Large ponds are said to exist; but very little has been ascertained respecting the interior of the country.

The *Chartres River* appears formed by the junction of two streams flowing from Mount Moody (1,845 feet high) near the east coast; it then flows nearly west for about ten miles, and falls into a narrow arm of the sea, termed *Christmas Harbour*, which is nearly fifteen miles in length. This would seem to be one of the most eligible spots for the formation of a settlement.

*Stanley*, the capital of the colony, is situated in East Falkland, at the east end of the Wickham Heights, at the head of a fine harbour termed *Port William*, of which *Stanley Haven* is a land-locked inlet.

*Mount William* rises to a height of 800 feet close to the town, which is as yet quite in its infancy. The whole northern part of the island is called *Stanley County;* the southern portion *Lafonia County*. This latter division is said to contain twenty-four good harbours, besides innumerable creeks and coves. There are also about forty large promontories, capable of being isolated for the breeding of cattle, &c.

Geology.—Dr. Darwin, who accompanied Captain Fitz-Roy, examined, as far as his time permitted, the structure of these islands, which, he says, is in most respects simple, the lower country consisting of clay-slate and sandstone, associated together; and the hills of white granular quartz rock, with strata frequently arched with perfect symmetry, and presenting the appearance of the seats of an amphitheatre in ruins. The quartz must have been in a pasty state when it underwent such remarkable flexure without being shattered into fragments. As a passage between the quartz and the sandstone can be traced, it seems probable that the former owes its origin to the sandstone having been heated to such an excess, that it became viscid, and upon cooling crystallized; while in the soft state it must have been pushed up through the overlying beds.

The celebrated *"streams of stones"* are found on the north side of the dividing ridge of the eastern island; possibly similar phenomena may hereafter be discovered in other parts of the archipelago: they consist of myriads of cubical fragments of quartz rock, of varying sizes, their angles generally but little broken; some are so large that a man may find shelter beneath one of them. In several places they are spread out in the valleys as if in a flowing current of a quarter to half-a-mile wide; in others they lie in a sloping direction on the hill sides, at an angle of ten degrees with the horizon, and have a breadth of thirty feet to a quarter of a mile. Beneath these stony beds the flow of water may be heard many feet below the surface. The peaty soil is narrowing at the borders, and even forming islets of the stones wherever a few fragments happen to lie close together. On the crests of the neighbouring low rounded hills, whence these singular "streams" seem to have descended, huge masses of quartz, exceeding a small building in dimensions, are found, as if arrested in their course, and the curved strata are piled over each other like the ruins of a vast cathedral.

Dr. Darwin declares, that although he had seen, in the Cordillera of the Andes, the evident marks where stupendous mountains had been broken into pieces like so much thin crust, and the strata thrown on their vertical edges, no scene had ever impressed upon him, like these "streams of stones," the idea of a convulsion, without a counterpart in historical records. On the highest peak of a range (700 feet above the sea,) in the eastern Falkland Island, lies a great arched fragment of quartz, many tons in weight, on its convex or upper surface, as if fairly pitched into the air, and then turned over. He infers that the period of violence was subsequent to the land having been raised above the ocean level. It seems probable that the cubes of quartz have been hurled into the valleys down the nearest slopes, or that masses of rock were broken up in their original position, and that by a vibratory movement of overwhelming force, the fragments have been levelled into continuous sheets. The best idea which can be given of this sin-

gular natural feature, is by imagining that streams of *white* lava had flowed from many parts of the mountains into the lower country, and been there, when consolidated, rent by some terrible convulsion into innumerable fragments.*

The Falkland fossils, like those of England, are associated with remains that indicate a climate of tropical character. Those found in the sandstone and clay-slate, consist chiefly of shells allied to terebratula, of encrinites, of a branching coral divided into alternate compartments, and of an obscure impression of the lobes of a trilobite.

Most of the mountain summits are much shattered, extremely rugged, and, consequently, difficult to climb. At Mount Skyring the stones, when struck together, give out a sulphurous smell, and are strongly magnetic. Some such causes may produce the faint glimmering lights which are seen at long intervals on the hill-tops, appearing like the flash of a pistol at a great distance.

The *mineralogy* is, as yet, unexplored; there are said to be marks of copper ore with pyrites; and the geological structure is strongly indicative of the presence of metals. Coal has been discovered, but no attempt has hitherto been made to employ it. Ochres of different colours are common.

An analysis of the Falkland Islands coal compared with that from Dean Forest, in England, was made by Sir H. T. de la Bêche, for the Admiralty: the distinguished geologist supposes the specimens to have come from Sussex Harbour, East Falkland, and says they "show good bituminous coal fit for a variety of purposes. The following is the comparative analysis, with the appended remarks of the analyser:—

| Analysis. | Falkland Islands. | Dean Forest. |
|---|---|---|
| Carbon | 77.97 | 71.14 |
| Hydrogen | 5.42 | 4.90 |
| Nitrogen | 0.95 | 1.41 |
| Silica | 2.00 | 0.85 |
| Alumina | 1.84 | 0.65 |
| Sulphate of lime | 0.24 | — |
| Iron pyrites | — | 7.12 |
| Sesqui-sulphate of iron | — | 1.60 |
| Water | 3.25 | 4.68 |
| Oxygen and loss | 8.33 | 7.65 |

"Although the specimens thus prove the occurrence of good coal in the Falkland Islands, it should be observed that further information is necessary in order to judge of the capability of its being profitably worked; information showing the thickness of the coal beds, and the dip or angle they make with the horizon, coal frequently occurring in beds too thin to be of any economic value.

"Beds of coal three or four feet in thickness, have been stated to have been found in the Falkland Islands; but this requires confirmation.

"Among the remaining specimens, which are chiefly those of ordinary rocks, are some of the peat said to abundantly occur in these islands. These specimens show that, as in some of the great peat bogs in Ireland, the lower parts of the peat accumulations assume a very bituminous character. From White Rock Harbour, West Falkland, there is a specimen so highly bituminous, that it has nearly the aspect of pitch; it burns with a brilliant flame, and might be very advantageously employed for gas light purposes; it would also, if properly treated, afford coal-tar, and would also be valuable on this account, if it should be found to occur in sufficient abundance."

Soil.—Accounts are varied, and so little is really known, that they must be received with caution. Some writers say that there is mostly from six to eight inches of black vegetable mould, on a stratum of strong clay: others consider that the surface is chiefly a bog earth, and that, owing to the nature of the soil and climate, cereal crops cannot well be raised. It is very probable that oats and barley would thrive, and judging from the fatness of the wild cattle and horses, pasturage must be abundant and excellent. Wherever potatoes and garden produce have been cultivated, the soil has yielded a great increase.

The bogs are composed of a very compact black peat, highly bituminous, which, when dry, burns with great intensity; they may be traversed everywhere by a man without difficulty, and in most places by a horse. Even the worst are covered with a coarse, wiry grass, and nowhere did the late governor (Mr. Moody) find them uncovered, as in Ireland, or in Scotland. Wherever horses and cattle frequent, the brown moorish look of the surface gives place to a greener and more luxuriant appearance, and where the ground has been fired, a tender sweet grass springs up, mixed with a white clover.

Climate.—Although in latitude in the southern hemisphere corresponding to that of London, and the Midland Counties in the northern, viz., 51° to 53°, the temperature is more equable than that of England; the mercury rarely falls below 26° Fah. in the coldest winter, or rises above 75° in the hottest summer; the general range is from 30° to 50° in winter, and 50° to 75′ in summer.

* Dr. Darwin, vol. iii., pp. 254, '5, '6.

Snow seldom lies on the ground more than half-an-inch thick; heavy long-continued rain never occurs; showers are frequent; thunder and lightning of rare occurence; fogs are seen in autumn and spring, but they usually dissipate by noon; the winter is about a month longer than the summer. The long warm days of the vernal solstice, with occasional showers, produce a rapid vegetation. Upon the authority of a naval officer, who has been many years resident on the islands, there are two hours' sunshine at the Falklands for one in England throughout the year.*

The winds blow chiefly from the north-west in summer, and south-west in winter, but seldom long from the eastward in either season. A north wind almost always brings rain, especially in summer, and east and south-east airs are constantly accompanied by mist and rain. The finest weather in winter is when the breeze draws from the the west or north-west, and in summer, when it stands at north-west or north-east. Snow-squalls generally come from the south-south-west or south-south-east. The winds are rarely at rest during any part of the year; storms are most frequent at changes of the seasons, and come usually from south-south-west to west-south-west, but they seldom last more than twenty-four hours. During summer, a sea-breeze, similar to that which occurs in the topical regions, sets in from the westward, often increasing to a gale during the day, and dying away gradually towards night-fall. During the summer a calm of four-and-twenty hours' continuance is an extraordinary event, as it generally blows hard from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.; the evenings and nights are, however, usually mild and still.

Unquestionably the place is exceedingly salubrious; no peculiar disease has been contracted by those who have resided there several years, and persons afflicted with pulmonary complaints are stated to have experienced a great mitigation of their sufferings.

The climate of the Western is milder than that of the Eastern Island.

Vegetable Productions.—In East Falkland, which alone has been to any extent explored, no trees are found, and the largest bush (belonging to the family of the compositæ) is scarcely so high as the English gorze. Wood for building is, however, obtainable from the adjoining Straits of Magellan. For fuel, besides peat and turf, which are abundant in many places, and may be procured dry out of the penguins' holes, three kinds of bushes are found, called fachinal, matajo, and gruillera. The first of these grows straight, from two to five feet high, and the stem, in proportion to the height, is from half-an-inch to one inch and-a-half in diameter; small woods of this are found in all the valleys, and form good cover; it bears no fruit. The second is more abundant in the southern than in the northern part of the island; its trunk is nearly the thickness of a man's arm, very crooked, never higher than three feet, and bears no fruit. The gruillera, the smallest of the three, is about the size of the common heath, it grows close to the ground, and is abundant all over the island; being easily ignited, and having the valuable property of burning while fresh and green, it is chiefly used as fuel by the people when away from the settlement, and to light the peat fires in the houses. It bears a small dark red berry, of the size of a large pea, and of an insipid taste.

A small low plant (*myrtus nummuralia*), produces a berry of the size of a large pea, of a whitish rose colour, and a fine flavour: a decoction of the leaves is commonly used as a substitute for tea.

Wild celery (*apium graveolans*) and the little cress (*cardamine glacialis*) are wholesome and agreeable. The so-called scurvy grass a description of sorrel, which loses its leaves in winter, is an excellent anti-scorbutic; its leaves, when boiled, make a sort of "gooseberry fool;" and it may also be used instead of lemons for sour sauces and lemonade. A native spinach (a species of *atriplex*) is a good pot-herb.

The most curious of the vegetable productions (the *hydrocelicæ gummifere*) is a plant, or rather excrescence (for it grows from the earth without stalk, branch, or leaves,) called the resinous gum plant. It is frequently six feet in diameter, and eighteen inches high, and so strong as to bear the weight of a man. Its surface ejects drops of a tough resinous matter of a yellow colour, and about the size of peas, having a strong odour like turpentine, which is called balsam by the settlers, and used as such. Among the lichens are some which yield fine colours with pure ammonia.

The *tussac* is a gigantic sedgy grass of

* Captain Sulivan, who has been engaged in completing the survey of the Falklands, commenced by Captain Fitz-Roy.

the genus *carex:* the blades run seven feet long, and about an inch wide, as many as 250 stems springing from a single "stool." It is sweet and tender, forming, perhaps, a more nourishing food for horned cattle than any found growing spontaneously in other parts of the globe. The sea shore, and all the small islets, are fringed with this grass, and its highly nutritious roots have been found available, in cases of need, for human food. Governor Moody in a despatch dated January 17th, 1844, urgently advocated the introduction of this grass into Britain, especially into the Orkney and Shetland Islands, as the experiments he had tried showed that it would grow on almost any soil, and that, although the place of its natural growth was from 300 to 400 yards from the shore, yet it wovld thrive without being exposed to the sea spray. He adds, the tussac grass rises high above the snow, is fresh and green all the winter, and from its height completely shelters the horses and cattle lying among it.

There are several other valuable grasses: the most abundant (*arundo alopecurus*) covers every peat-bog with a dense and rich clothing of green in summer, and a good pale-yellow hay in the winter season; no bog, however rank, seems too bad for this grass to luxuriate on; and its naturally dried hay is greedily devoured by the troops of wild horses which range along the flanks of Wickham heights. It is not yet satisfactorily proved whether sheep will thrive on this vegetable, whether in the shape of grass or hay. The cattle have so wide a range, that the long grass is never thoroughly fed down, but grows in tufts, fresh shoots continually springing from the same shoot, leaving the old and withered stalks standing.

How far the fruit, grain, and vegetables of Europe will succeed at the Falklands is still to be ascertained. Captain Fitz-Roy is of opinion, that fruit which requires much sun certainly will not ripen. Wheat, tried in M. Vernet's small, manured, and high turf-fenced garden, produced a full ear and large grain: potatoes, though put into holes, and left to take their chance, yielded three pounds weight from one root: they were large, but necessarily watery, from not having been planted in drills or ridges, nor trenched. Turnips are well flavoured, and of large size: Captain Fitz-Roy saw one that weighed *eight-and-a-half pounds.* Carrots, cabbage, and lettuce may be brought to great perfection, particularly on sheltered banks sloping towards the north-east. Flax succeeds well. Hemp has not been tried. Currant-bushes, brought from Tierra del Fuego, did not, at first, yield properly-ripened fruit; but it must be remembered, that in the country whence the bushes were obtained, they grew wild, and the produce even there was scarcely eatable. Bougainville and Wallis say, that thousands of young trees were taken up by the roots in the Straits of Magellan, and carried to the Falklands, where they were planted; but no trace of them is now visible. By planting thickly, and sheltering the young shrubs from the fury of south-west storms, by lofty mounds of turf, hardy trees might undoubtedly be raised.

Zoology.—No quadrupeds were found on these islands at the time of their discovery, except a kind of wolf-like fox, peculiar to them, which kennels under ground. In size, the larger ones are about twice as bulky as an English fox, and they stand nearly twice as high upon their legs: their heads are coarser, and their fangs longer and sharper; their fur is thicker, and of a woolly nature; they are very rapacious, and feed upon birds, rabbits, mice, eggs, seals, &c.; and to their habits of attacking king-penguins, if not seal, while alive, may probably be traced the unhesitating boldness with which they approach man. When Byron visited the Falklands, in 1764, four of them "ran up to their bellies in the water to attack the boat," upon which the sailors jumped out of it to avoid them, mistaking their curiosity for fierceness; and the officers of the *Beagle,* while employed in surveying these coasts, "were often annoyed, as well as amused, by the intrusion of these fearless animals." There are no reptiles, and few insects. Hair and fur seals, and sea lions, of the most valuable description, are abundant in the vicinity of the Jason Beauchêne, and the smaller islands adjacent to East and West Falkland. The black, or right whale, still visits these coasts, especially the south and west shores of West Falkland, though much diminished by the annual attacks of the numerous whale-ships, both large and small, which have made these islands their head-quarters for the last five-and-twenty years.

The animals introduced have thriven well. Large herds of wild cattle range the uninhabited wastes, the produce of a few tame ones brought by the French settlers

in 1764. They have rapidly increased; and the present stock consists of a nearly equal number of bulls and cows. These are magnificent looking beasts, resembling those which are figured in ancient sculptures, where the size of the head and neck is so remarkable. They wander about by themselves, or with two or three companions, and the solitary ones are very furious, never hesitating to attack a man, unless mounted, and delighting in the encounter.

The method of hunting and capturing wild cattle, which is adopted on the dry and level Pampas of South America, being found unfitted to the soft and uneven "camp" of the Falklands, the use of the lasso is almost discontinued. The most efficient mode, and that now generally adopted, is to drive sinuellas (or trained decoy oxen) near to the wild herds, some of which are then separated, by dint of hard riding, seconded by the exertions of the sinuellas, who, when once joined by a few wild animals, lead the way to the nearest hunting corral or walled fold, closely followed by the horsemen. Once within the enclosure, their savage spirit is soon broken down under a course of starvation and constant discipline, and in a very short time they become sufficiently tractable to be driven in herds of fifteen or twenty by a single horseman, and are then considered tamed. In the old plan of catching them, the guacho or cattle hunter flung his lasso (a long cord with a noose at the extremity) round the horns of the beast, and threw him to the ground, then rapidly dismounting (his horse, trained to the work, keeping the lasso meanwhile at full stretch) tied the legs with thongs of raw hide; sometimes the assistance of a second gaucho was required to throw another cord round the hind-leg. The poor animal was then left on the ground, and the pursuit continued until as many others were captured as the party could manage in a day. On the following morning, exhausted by the chase, by violent struggling with their bonds, and by hunger and thirst, the wretched beasts were released by their captors, who, riding rapidly round them, brought them together, and urging them with voice and spear, hunted them furiously in the direction of the corral. Still without water, and further harassed by the pace, it will be easily understood that the dominion of man was soon established over them. However, the great destruction of cattle and horses resulting from this barbarous system, has caused it to be almost abandoned in the Falkland Islands. As it is, the service is sufficiently severe; the men lie out for three weeks together, with the earth for a bed, a saddle for a pillow, and covered only by their pouches, after a day's hard riding, equivalent in exertion to half-a-dozen hard runs with a fox in England; the horses reeking with sweat, their withers wrung by struggles with powerful bulls, flanks dropping blood from the effects of the sharp rowels of the gaucho's spur, and jaws almost broken by the severe and heavy bit, are turned adrift at night to seek their food and water as best they may. The consequences are that the men suffer a good deal from rheumatism, and the horses seldom last more than three or four seasons.

The size and fatness of the wild cattle indicate that the breed is good, as well as the pasturage rich. Some are so fat and heavy that they cannot be driven across marshy grounds, which are passed by other cattle, as well as by men on horseback. Of twenty wild bulls which were killed during one excursion of the settlers, while Captain Fitz-Roy was at East Falkland, the average weight of each hide was above seventy, and a few weighed eighty pounds. Meat takes salt remarkably well in this climate, and salt abounds on the coast of Patagonia. The flesh of the wild cattle is good eating; Dr. Darwin says that the meat roasted on the embers with the skin on it, the hide downwards to serve as a saucer for the gravy, is as superior to ordinarily dressed meat as venison is to mutton. After picking the flesh from the ribs of a bullock, the meat is roasted by making a fire with the bones of the animal.

There are troops of wild horses which, like the horned cattle, owe their origin to some introduced by Bougainville in 1744. These are even more dangerous of approach than the cattle, as they fight in a body, using in the onslaught their fore-feet, and biting with their teeth. They have never left the northern part of the island; it is difficult to conjecture why, as it does not appear more tempting than any other portion. They have increased greatly in numbers, but degenerated in size, being a small breed, which necessitates the importation of fresh horses from South America. When found of suitable strength and shape, the island horses are however preferred to the imported ones, from being accustomed to the description of country. An English stallion has been taken out by Captain Sulivan, the

only one in the colony. A quantity of pigs and rabbits were turned loose upon East Falkland, by the French, and afterwards by the Spanish colonists, and by considerate persons engaged in the whale or sea-fishery; both goats and pigs have been left upon the smaller islands near West Falkland. These have multiplied exceedingly; and although they have been killed indiscriminately by the crews of vessels, as well as by the settlers, there are still large numbers, especially upon *Carcass Island*, and *Saunders Island*. The black and the grey description of rabbits, by breeding together, have produced a piebald offspring. Rats and mice are found, having probably been introduced by some of the earlier navigators; altered climate, food, and habits, sufficiently account for their peculiarities of colour and size, their sharp noses and long tails.

Birds.—Of sea-fowl there are many kinds; of land-birds, few, a natural consequence of the absence of trees. Swans, wild ducks, snipe, teal, and a sort of quail, are found in abundance; and so tame were some of the birds when the first settlers landed there, that they would suffer themselves to be caught by the hand, and often perch upon the head. There is a bird called the grele, of beautiful plumage, with a peculiarly gentle note, whose flesh is much esteemed, which suffers itself to be approached so as to be knocked down with a stick; there are also falcons, snipes, owls, curlews, herons, thrushes, &c. Two kinds of wild geese are distinguishable, the lowland or kelp-geese, and the upland geese; the latter are much superior in flavour, the former having a fishy taste, living chiefly on mussels, shrimps, and kelp. Both are very tame, and the upland geese are easily domesticated. They are the finest eating in autumn, being then plump, in consequence of the abundance of the tea-shrub berries, of which they are very fond; the rest of the year they live on the short grass. They have a white neck and breast, with the rest of the body speckled of a fine brown marbled colour. The lowland gander is quite white, and the goose, dark, with a speckled breast. Of ducks there are several kinds. The loggerheaded are the largest, and almost the same size as the geese; their flesh is tough and fishy; they cannot fly, and when cut off from the water are easily caught. The next size is also of inferior quality, tough and fishy, but the smaller kinds, which are not larger than young pigeons, are very good, and are found in large flocks along the rivulets and fresh-water ponds. In addition to these, a variety of sea birds frequent the shores, of which the most valuable to sailors and settlers, from the quantity of eggs they deposit, are the gulls and penguins. These birds have their fixed rookeries, to which they resort in numerous flocks every spring; the gulls generally in green places near the shore, or on the small islands in the bay; the penguins chiefly along the steep rocky shores of the sea. (See illustration on map.) The eggs of both are eatable, after long confinement on board ship; the penguin's being, however, the better, and less strong than those of the gull. They were formerly so numerous, that on one occasion eight men gathered 60,000 in four or five days, and could easily have doubled that number had they stopped a few days longer. Both gulls and penguins will lay six or eight each, if removed, otherwise they only lay two and hatch them. The gulls come first to their hatching places, the penguins a little later.

Fish.—A valuable source of daily supply, and by salting, of export, exists in the inexhaustible quantities of fish that swarm in every harbour during the summer. The description which most abounds is a kind of bass, from two to three feet long, and six inches in depth; there are also several sorts of excellent small fish in immense shoals, which enter the bays at the beginning of spring to spawn, and retire in the winter season. A species of grey mullet, weighing from one to fifteen pounds, may be caught in large quantities in every creek; also a fish resembling a smelt; with both these, salt and fresh, shipping are supplied. Rock cod is plentiful in the neighbourhood of Swan or Weddell Island; but the prodigious quantity of sea-weed with which the shore is loaded, renders coast fishing almost impracticable. In the numerous fresh-water ponds, a small but good fish may be caught by angling. Large clams and mussels are obtained in abundance; there are, however, few other shell-fish, except some whose appearance is owing to a remarkable phenomenon connected with the tides: just before high water the sea rises and falls three times; and this motion is always more violent during the equinoxes and full moons, at which time several corallines, the finest mother-of-pearl, and the most delicate sponges are thrown up with it; and amongst other shells, a curious

bivalve, called *la poulette*, found no where else save in a fossil state.

POPULATION.—No aborigines were found inhabiting these islands. In 1849, the population consisted of *whites*, 184 males, 124 females=308: *coloured*, 2 males, 1 female=3. The aliens and resident strangers, not included in the foregoing, numbered 104, of whom more than 90 are Spaniards and South Americans, introduced by M. Lafone. During the year the births were 12; the deaths, 4; the marriages, 1.

The inhabitants are variously employed in capturing and taming cattle, in gardening, in trade, and on public works. The division of the Eastern Island into two counties has been already stated; in the northern is the parish of Stanley.

GOVERNMENT.—There is an Executive Council, composed of the governor, colonial-surgeon, and a post captain in the Royal Navy: the Legislative Council consists of the governor and five gentlemen, three of whom hold no official position.

The government establishment comprises the following officers, whose respective salaries are as follows:—governor, £800; stipendiary magistrate, £400; colonial chaplain, £400; surveyor-general, £300; his first clerk, £200; second clerk, £150; colonial surgeon, £300. Total, £2,550.

RELIGION.—The chaplain, in addition to his salary of £400, has a house and garden-ground around, but no church or chapel; the school-room, where about forty persons usually attend, is set apart on Sundays for public worship.

EDUCATION.—There is a schoolmaster, with £32 a-year from government, and about £20 a-year from the parents of his scholars, who were in 1849, 14 males, 14 females=28.

CRIME.—Only 8 prisoners were committed to the temporary gaol during 1849, 4 English and 4 Spaniards.

FINANCES.—The only taxes levied in 1849, consisted of *spirit* licences, at the rate of £20 per annum, payable half yearly; and *dog* licences at 5*s.* each, which produced in 1849—spirit, £30; dog, £11=£41. The land sales in 1849 yielded £125, and the land revenue £18. The legal and registration fees are numerous and petty; they yielded £90. The total revenue is under £300 a-year. In 1849, the sale of government property yielded £713; reimbursements on account of expenses incurred by government, £196; and the special receipts, including a forfeiture of £360 for breach of contract with colonial government, amounted to £543; sums received on account of parliamentary grant, £344. The receipts for the year from all sources, were £1,453. The expenditure for the salaries of governor, magistrate, chaplain, surgeon, surveyor, first and second clerks, and schoolmaster, for 1849, was £2,358; provisional and temporary establishments, £1,652; allowances for rations, £40; disbursements on account of miscellaneous civil services (including £742 on works and buildings), were £960; special payments, including remittances to land and emigration commissioners, &c., £331; payments on account of detachment of military enrolled pensioners, £120. The total charges for 1849, amounted to £5,463. In 1850, there was a general increase of revenue; the fixed items increased from £184 in 1849, to £442 in 1850. The circulating medium of the colony is principally English coin, whose amount is estimated at £2,500.

COMMERCE AND SHIPPING.—Imports in 1849, £9,760, of which £7,100 came from England; and of this, £3,200 in value, were imported for the public service. The imports consisted chiefly of clothing, articles of domestic use, spirits, wine, beer, &c.; and from America, breadstuffs, timber, tobacco, sugar, coffee, &c. The exports were valued at £2,660, consisting of hides, hair, fur seal-skins, seal-oil, whalebone, &c. Number of hides exported, about 1,300; wool, 850lbs.; hair seal-skins, 1,046; fur, ditto, 37; whalebone, 370lbs.; seal oil, 140 gallons.

The following summary of the shipping which has called at Port Stanley, East Falkland, between May, 1847, and June, 1851, shows a progressive increase, particularly in the present year. There is every reason to anticipate a continuous and yet more rapid augmentation, from the advantages offered by this and other harbours of the Falkland, as ports of refuge, offering, on easy terms, the means of refit and refreshment, so frequently required in doubling Cape Horn:—

| Date. | Ships. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| 1847, May to December . | 15 | 3,697 |
| 1848, January to December | 28 | 11,738 |
| 1849 " " | 25 | 7,669 |
| 1850 " " | 36 | 13,881 |
| 1851, January to June . . | 31 | 10,699 |
| Total . . . . | 135 | 47,684 |

Of which there were :—

| Country. | Ships. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| British . . . . . . . . | 65 | 28,681 |
| North American . . . . | 51 | 13,933 |
| Norwegian . . . . . . . | 2 | 756 |
| Danish . . . . . . . . | 3 | 660 |
| Oriental . . . . . . . | 8 | 827 |
| Hamburg . . . . . . . | 2 | 527 |
| Chilian . . . . . . . . | 1 | 400 |
| French . . . . . . . . | 2 | 1,500 |
| Russian . . . . . . . . | 1 | 400 |
| Total . . . . . | 135 | 47,684 |
| Deduct men-of-war | 11 | 8,199 |
| Merchantmen . . | 124 | 39,485 |

*Object of calling.*—40 ships, for service of the islands; 74, for water and provisions; 26, for repairs; 19, American whalers, for repairs and provisions; 3, with goods for sale; 2, for deserters; 4, for medical aid; 2, wrecked; 2, for repairs—condemned; 1, run aground, and abandoned on fire.

*Men-of-war included amongst the foregoing.*—In the year 1847, none; 1848, 5 English and one French, 4,510 tons—2, for repairs and refreshments; 1, surveying for patent slip at Stanley; 1, with despatches for Governor; 1, with new Governor (Rennie); 1, French, for deserter: 1849, 3 English, 2,130 tons—1, with specie for government; 1, for refreshments; 1, for repairs: 1850, 1 English, 503 tons—for repairs, beef, and water: 1851, 1 English, 1,056 tons—with specie, and took refreshments. Total, 11 ships, 8,199 tons.

Produce.—The amount is yet very limited; in 1849, there were only 5 acres in cultivation, and these in garden produce, viz.: potatoes, cabbages, turnips, peas, &c. About 5,300 acres are fenced in and planted with *tussac* grass. The live stock is large: wild horses, about 3,000; wild cattle, 80,000 to 100,000; two troops of breeding mares, and numerous swine; imported and tame horses, between 600 and 700; tame horned cattle, 3,000; sheep, 500; goats, 30. Only 12 milch cows are kept on the island, more not being required. The price of beef is 2*d.* per lb.; Stanley-fed bacon, as good as English, 1*s.* 2*d.*; fresh butter, 2*s.*; milk, 6*d.* per quart; tallow candles, (colonial manufacture) 10*d.* per lb.; cheese, 1*s.* 6*d.*

*Wages*—of unskilled labour, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*; mechanics, 5*s.* to 8*s.* per day; domestic servants, male, £30 to £40; female, £10 to £20 per annum.

Present Position.—By a contract between Her Majesty's government and Mr. Lafone, the latter (a wealthy Monte Video merchant), on payment of £30,000—of which £10,000 has been paid—is entitled to hold, in fee simple, the whole of the south peninsula in East Falkland Island, estimated to contain 600,000 acres, with all the adjacent islands, including Beauchêne, besides 25 acres of suburban land, and half-an-acre of town land at Stanley. He has, also, till 1856, the absolute right to exclusive dominion over all wild cattle, horses, &c., on all the Falkland Islands, with full power to dispose of them as he pleases; and after that time, all stock, &c., found on Lafonia, are to be his, absolutely; but his dominion ceases as to the rest of the islands. He has also some other privileges under his grant from the Crown.

Government have sanctioned the transfer of Mr. Lafone's contract to a company which has been lately formed under the title of "The Falkland Islands Company," and to which a charter of incorporation is about to be granted. The primary object of this association is to turn to profitable account the immense herds of wild cattle, which have been estimated, by competent judges, at 80,000 head; though Captains Sulivan and Mackinnon make the number still larger. Government are about to contract with the Company for the transport of a mail eight times a-year, between Stanley and Monte Video, for which service they are to receive £800. Hitherto there has been no regular means of communication with the colony. The establishments created by Mr. Lafone are now to be transferred to the Company; the principal are situated in Darwin's Harbour, on the Isthmus, at Port San Salvador, and at Port Louis; amongst other works, he has constructed a wall and ditch, 2,225 yards in length, across the isthmus, thereby preventing about 30,000 head of cattle, which he has in Lafonia, from straying into the northern portion of the island. To give an idea of the extent of this establisment, which is entirely occupied in the capture and taming of wild cattle and horses, it may be mentioned, that the studs at the various stations comprize upwards of 400 horses.

The erection of a beacon, or lighthouse, on Cape Pembroke, is much needed, to enable vessels to make Stanley Harbour in thick weather and in the night-time. Government have had it in contemplation, for some years, to send out a patent slip, for which there is great occasion, as appears by reference to the summary of shipping previously given. An excellent chart of these islands is published by the Admiralty: they

have been very carefully surveyed by Captains Fitz-Roy, Sulivan, and Robinson; and masters of ships, provided with this chart, may call, with the simple addition of the lighthouse, at any season, in perfect safety, at Port Stanley, where fresh provisions and water, of excellent quality, are plentiful and cheap.

These islands seem to offer advantages for a convict depôt.* They certainly afford facilities for separation and classification of the prisoners, who might be disposed so as not to interfere with the existing population. There is no bush to shelter runaways; or, should they escape—which appears to be the principal objection—the nearest land, Patagonia, is inhabited by savages, amongst whom they would meet with certain destruction. The conformation of the islands affords a ready means of communication by semaphoe, in ten minutes' time, from New Island to Cape Pembroke, the extreme west and east points of the group. The cost of transport would be less than half that to Van Diemen's Land; and staple provisions might be had, quite as cheap as at any other colony; beef and mutton at much lower rates; whilst ample employment might be afforded, in various ways, serviceable to the colony, and adapted to make it, what nature seems to have designed it for, a useful naval station.

## THE AUCKLAND ISLANDS.

This group, consisting of one moderate sized island, and several smaller islets and rocks, is situated in 51° S. lat., 166° E. long. It lies 180 miles to the south of New Zealand, with which it is supposed to be connected by means of a submerged mountain-chain, whose summits form the rocky islets, called by Cook the *Snares*, a few miles off the extremity of Stewart's Island, and may be traced as far to the southward of the Aucklands as the *Macquaries*. A similar connexion is thought to exist between New Zealand and the Chatham Islands, 300 miles to the eastward, on account of the declaration of the whalers that soundings are found the whole of the intermediate distance. It is also affirmed that a bank extends from the "Three Kings," off the northern extremity of New Zealand, to Norfolk Island; these statements tend to confirm the opinion of Dr. Dieffenbach and others, that the various scattered groups of which we are now speaking, are the mountain regions of an extensive continent, whose lowlands have long been covered by the stormy waters of the Southern, or miscalled Pacific, Ocean.

The Auckland Islands were discovered in 1806, by a Captain Briscoe, while engaged in the prosecution of a whaling voyage, on behalf of the late Mr. Enderby; in the subsequent year he landed, took possession of them for the crown of England, and left thereon some pigs, which have multiplied exceedingly. In 1847, on the application of Messrs. Enderby, a London mercantile firm, then largely engaged in the South-Sea whale and seal fisheries, a lease was granted to them of the Aucklands by the Crown, for the term of thirty years, at a peppercorn rent for the first two years, and for every subsequent year of the time specified at the rate of £1,000, and such further sums of money as one of Her Majesty's secretaries of state might deem necessary for the civil government and protection of settlers upon the islands. By the terms of the lease, the Crown may at any time resume possession, granting compensation only to the actual value of improvements made; and may also select land for the construction of houses and gardens for the residence of official persons, or for barracks, forts, arsenals, dock-yards, military defences, roads, bridges, &c. It is likewise stipulated that the ships and merchants of all nations shall have the free use of the ports and harbours of the said islands, according to the usual laws and customs of trade: the Crown may remit any portion of the yearly rent of £1,000, not required for the purposes of government or protection; the failure of payment of rent after an arrear of six calendar months to be considered a breach of the covenant, and be deemed sufficient cause for the forfeiture of the lease.

There is a proviso for the extension of the lease over a second period of thirty years, on nearly similar terms to the first, and generally the grant was made on favourable conditions for those who engaged in the adventure, it being the object

* They have been recommended for this purpose by the Colonial, Land, and Emigration Commissioners. See Parliamentary Paper, No. 3. August 27th, 1841. Enclosure, No. 7.

of Her Majesty's ministers to encourage the prosecution of whale, seal, and other fisheries in the Southern Pacific.

The Messrs. Enderby have sub-let their lease or grant to a public association, called the "*Southern Whale Fishing Company,*" under the governorship of Captain the Earl of Hardwick, R.N., and a direction of experienced city merchants and other gentlemen. The Company has a capital of £100,000, of which, in conformity with the provisions of a royal charter granted in 1848, one-fourth was required to be paid up before the Company commenced business.

Several vessels have been built for the Company, and despatched to the South Seas and Pacific for the prosecution of the fisheries; and Mr. Charles Enderby has been sent out for a period of ten years as the Company's commissioner and lieutenant-governor of the islands. The remuneration of this gentleman was to be a per-centage upon the annual net profits of the undertaking, with a guarantee from the court of directors that he should not receive less than £500 per annum, with an allowance £250 a-year for table money, to enable him to entertain the commanders and officers of vessels touching at the islands. Other persons, some with their wives and families, have been located at the Aucklands; and stores of various kinds, with cattle, seeds, &c., have been imported.

Dwelling-houses, stores, jetty, &c., have been constructed; a survey of the principal island has been made, and every care seems to have been taken by the corporation to supply the physical wants of the people under their charge, save and except in the first of all requisites, a provision for their spiritual necessities. No clergyman has been sent out by the London directory, and though it is to be hoped some of our excellent missionary societies will remedy this lamentable defect, it is yet most unjust that the onus should be thrown on them, which in common justice ought to be borne by those who hope to reap advantage by the undertaking; nor is it possible to acquit the government of their responsibility of either performing or ensuring the performance of so necessary a duty.

Area and Physical Features. — The principal island, named Auckland, is estimated to comprise a superficies of about 100,000 acres; its length is thirty miles, and its extreme breadth about fifteen; the remainder of the group does not contain in all more than 20,000 acres. The general appearance of the country somewhat resembles the region round Cape Horn; it is mostly wild and steep to seaward, the basaltic cliffs rising from fifty to ninety feet in perpendicular height. Its southern and eastern shores are indented by deep gulfs, one of which almost separates the island into two parts. Of these the southern is the more picturesque, and is supposed to be also more fertile. The smaller islands, which are divided by narrow channels, closely resemble the large one in their general character. The land rises abruptly, especially on the east coast, and the highest peaks attain an elevation of about 900 feet. So far as is yet known there appears to be a succession of hills and narrow valleys, clothed in many parts with trees of a very hard and crooked nature; in others with a dense growth of underwood; and, where the rays of the sun can penetrate, with a strong heavy luxuriant grass. The western side of the island is a bluff "iron-bound" coast, with deep water within 100 fathoms of the cliffs; the eastern is partly lined with fine pebbly or sandy beaches, intersected by streams and inlets, and has six or seven harbours, the principal of which, now termed *Port Ross,** in 50° 32′ S. lat., 166° 12′ E. long., was formerly known as *Rendezvous Harbour*. The entrance, sheltered to the northward by *Enderby* and *Rose Island,* is about a mile wide, has to the southward a rock called *Ocean Island*. The portion at the head of Port Ross or Rendezvous, called *Laurie Harbour,* is perfectly land-locked, with a steep beach on the shore, affording facilities for clearing and loading vessels. That known as *Sarah's Bosom* is less secure.

Mr. Enderby, who reached Port Ross as lieutenant-governor and commissioner for the Southern Whaling Company, 2nd December, 1849, and took possession of the islands on its behalf, was piloted in by a New Zealander: he describes the sides of the harbour as steep, the contiguous hills varying from six to nine hundred feet in height, covered from the base to the summit with trees, whose branches overhung the water on either side. Near the head of the haven is a small island about five acres in extent, covered with grass, and beyond it a

* So called after the distinguished navigator, Sir James Clark Ross, who, in his arduous and perilous expedition to the Antarctic Seas, surveyed these islands.

wide and rapid stream, the entrance to which is almost hidden by trees and brushwood. The site of the projected town, to be named Hardwick, includes three small bays. It is situated on a peninsulated piece of land extending about a mile inland, having a gradual rise in that distance of about 100 feet, and a rivulet of fresh water running through it, and is sheltered from the prevailing winds by high land rising in the back ground. The only extent of grassland in the vicinity of the settlement is a tract of about 100 acres, situated at the north of the main island; nearly the same quantity of natural pasturage is comprised in Enderby Island, and a smaller amount exists on Rose Island; with these exceptions there is no one spot containing ten acres together.

*Carnby Harbour*, the great southern haven of Auckland Island, lies four miles to the eastward of the South Cape, within the strait dividing Auckland from Adam Island; it is tortuous, capacious, and in some places too deep for anchorage; there are, however, several good coves on either side where ships may lie. The entrance is perfectly free from danger, and about five miles wide; it is formed by two bluff points; from thence to the head of the haven, fifteen miles distant, (of which nine miles are direct inland,) a wide expanse opens with twenty-five to four fathoms clay soundings near the shore.

*Chapel Bay*, also on the east side of Auckland Island, received its name from a hill on one side, with a projecting rock on its summit, resembling a chapel: it is half-a-mile wide, and three miles in length; the sides rise to a height of eight or nine hundred feet, covered with trees. At the head of the bay is a rapid stream, flowing through a fine piece of level ground, extending inland for a mile, part being thickly wooded, and the remainder covered with grass and low shrubs. Beyond this is a waterfall, of seventy or eighty feet in altitude, which falls into a circular basin of clear fresh water, about half-a-mile in diameter. There is not a weed on the surface, nor any swampy ground around; and it is probably, therefore, of considerable depth. The banks are shelving, and composed of loose pieces of basaltic rock. Near the entrance of Chapel Bay is a remarkable and beautiful grotto; and, close to it, a cavern, 200 feet deep.

The interior of Auckland has been but little explored, the dense vegetation rendering travelling almost impracticable, except where fire has been used to clear the way. The prevailing features, both of this and the smaller islets, would seem to be, a low forest skirting the shores, surmounted by a broad belt of underwood, above which a species of long, coarse grass, fern, or low bushes, extend to the summit of the hills. *Ewing*, and some of the other islets, are entirely covered with wood.

Geology.—The character of the country is described as basaltic, with the stone running into columns. Whin, or green-stone, has been found, of a fine workable grain. At the settlement, the igneous formation is intersected by a clay-coloured wacke, formed by the detritus of the adjacent rocks.

Mineralogy.—No report has yet been made on this head.

Soil.—In most places peaty, varying in depth from a few inches to ten feet. Some of it, sent to England for analysis, has been considered peculiarly valuable for floriculture, and worth, for that purpose, several pounds a ton. Cattle evidently thrive well on the natural grasses. How far the cultivation of grain will succeed, is yet to be proved.

Climate.—Considering the high southern latitude, the temperature is mild; but there are frequent high winds, attended occasionally with heavy rains. The snow, in winter, is sometimes exceedingly heavy, but it seldom continues on the ground above a few days at a time. In summer, the thermometer rarely rises higher than 78° Fahr. The climate is salubrious, and is well spoken of, even by the scantily-clothed New Zealanders, who have had eight years' experience.

Vegetation.—The surface of the main island is thickly covered with trees, shrubs, fern, grass, and moss. Of the trees there are several species; but the two most numerous are the metrosideros lucida, called "rata" by the New Zealanders, belonging to the *myrtaceæ*, and the panax simplex, belonging to the *ficoideæ* family. The principal shrub is a fine species of veronica, which occasionally forms a beautiful feature in the landscape. According to Mr. Enderby, the growth of the trees is peculiar. He describes them as rarely reaching an elevation exceeding forty feet, and yet as frequently measuring sixty feet in length; the cause of this seeming contradiction being, that "almost every tree is bent down about twenty or thirty feet from the roots,

and again shot upwards." This circumstance renders the forest almost impervious, as the passage is obstructed in all directions by these trees, over and under which the traveller has alternately to make his way: the tops are everywhere covered with foliage, as thick and even as a well-trimmed hedge.

An ornamental tree, yet undescribed by botanists, is found growing on the small isle situated to the south-east of the entrance to Port Ross, called *Ewing Island.* The stem varies from eighteen inches to two feet in diameter; the wood is very hard, and has much the appearance of maple; the blossom resembles that of the chesnut in form, but is of a dull leaden colour; the leaves are nearly as large as those of the fig-tree, their back and the young stems are covered with a white film-like cotton; the branches spread out from close to the ground, to a distance of twenty-five feet.* Many of the smaller vegetable productions of these islands offer subjects of very interesting inquiry to the botanists, for though limited in extent, the recent investigation by Dr. Hooker, of the plants collected by Sir J. C. Ross, shews that of eighty flowering species found, no less than fifty-six were until then undescribed. One half of the whole are peculiar to the Aucklands, so far as is at present known, and are no less remarkable for their beauty than novelty. Space does not permit any details on this head, with the exception of the *arabia polaris*, one of the most singular and useful plants found on this group: it grows in large orbicular masses in rocks and banks near the sea, or amongst the dense and gloomy vegetation of the woods; its copious bright green foliage and large umbels of waxy flowers have a striking appearance. The whole plant has a heavy and rather disagreeable smell, but its roots are greedily eaten by pigs, goats, and rabbits, who frequently live entirely amongst it, and by trampling down the soft stems and leaves make warm places to litter in.

Zoology.—There do not appear to be any native animals whatever. Some pigs which were left in Auckland, and about fifty brought by the Maori immigrants, have increased considerably, and on Ewing Island there are also several droves. Cattle, sheep, and horses have been recently introduced, and there is said to be abundant feed all the year round for several hundred head on Enderby Island alone. Fur and hair seals frequent these shores; the male of the latter species, called the *sea lion*, is as high as a bear, and progresses nearly as fast as a man can run; he is usually attacked with thick clubs, loaded at one end,' and not unfrequently contests for life with his destroyer. The black or right whale is mentioned by Mr. Enderby as coming into the bays to calve, during the winter, in considerable numbers, and the hump-backed whale as being a constant visitor;† he also speaks of having obtained excellent flounders, and an inferior description of crab, and describes the mussels as being like seams of coal, of all sizes, and equal in flavour to the finest oysters. Of birds, insects, or reptiles, we have yet no detailed accounts, but there appear to be three sorts of ducks, snipes, sand-larks, and several small birds, including the "tui" of New Zealand (see p. 353), and a green paroquet, with red on the head and wings. Albatrosses of great size and beauty have been captured. The ground in several places is perforated, probably by the mutton bird; hawks are numerous.

Population.—When Mr. Enderby, the lieutenant-governor, and commisioner of the South Whale Fishing Company, arrived at Auckland in 1849, he found the islands inhabited by about seventy New Zealanders (men, women, and children), who lived under the jurisdiction of two chiefs named Matteoro and Nannaterri. They had been dwelling there about eight years, having been conveyed thither from Chatham Island in a colonial vessel. They paid 150 pigs for their passage, and brought fifty more with them, which they landed on Auckland, Enderby, Ewing, Rose, and Ocean Islands. They had many small plots of land under cultivation, which they surrendered with their pigs, &c., to the representative of the Company, in whom the islands were vested by the Crown, in consideration of receiving a small sum of money, and of being permitted to collect their growing crops. They were unwilling to quit the island, and the commissioner, so

* Abstract of reports of the commissioner of the Southern Whale Fishery Company to the directors. London, 1850; p. 16.

† The latest report, dated June, 1851, which I had not seen at the time of writing the above remarks, states that "the Bay whaling season (of 1850–51) at the Islands, had not realised the expectations entertained by the commissioner (Mr. Enderby)," and that but few black whales had been seen. The following was the population in January, 1851:—White population, exclusive of seamen—men, 49; women, 19; children, 26; total, 94. Births, 8; marriages, 3; death, 1.

far from desiring their removal, considered their presence decidedly advantageous to the Company; he found them "strictly honest and willing, and also able boatmen, whilst some of them have been engaged in the whale fishery." Several were employed at a low rate of daily wages, others by cultivating the land, supplied the settlement with potatoes, cabbages, and Swedish turnips. The two chiefs were appointed constables, in which capacity Nannaterri is entrusted with the charge of refractory seamen. Matteoro resides with forty of his people near the settlement, and is described in one of the commissioner's despatches as being "constantly employed working and looking after those under his command." On one occasion complaint being made to him of a sheep destroyed by his dogs, he executed summary justice by causing seven of them to be hung up immediately. By a recent report (February, 1851) of the directors of the Southern Whale Fishery, we learn that the population, including the commissioner, a surgeon, and a few persons in the immediate employ of the Company, amounts to about seventy persons; that a permanent jetty and wharf, a warehouse, governor's residence, and some double cottages had been built, the brickwork for a cooperage finished, and a jail erected on Shoe Island. A savings' bank had been established, and deposits to the amount of £100 already lodged in it. No provision appears to have been made either for the religious or secular instruction of the settlers—a radical defect in any scheme of colonization, and one that cannot be too soon remedied.

Present State and Prospects.—Whether the settlement of the Auckland Islands will fulfil the purpose for which it has been designed, that is, to form a nucleus for promoting, or rather reviving, the South Sea Whale Fisheries, and in so doing succeed as a commercial speculation, is yet to be proved. Having seen both the sperm and black whale between the Seychelle Islands and the northern end of Madagascar, in the China Sea between the coast of Siam and Borneo, and in other tropical climes, I am disposed to think it too uncertain in its migrations in search of food and quiet spots to breed in, long to frequent any locality where it is extensively hunted, unless indeed great precautions are taken, and the exterminating system of shore-whaling pursued in New Zealand at once abolished. The Aucklands, however, from recent accounts appear to be at present frequented both by whales and seals; and their contiguity to the islands near the South Pole is a decided advantage in this respect. A limited population may therefore be enabled to earn a comfortable livelihood with the more ease, if the islands, as is believed, afford an arable area amply sufficient for their support. The secretary of the South Whale Fishing Company, and one of its directors (Mr. Dundas) are now engaged in prosecuting further inquiries and exploring the country; and as far as the national interests are concerned, it appears unquestionably desirable that the Company should avail themselves of the thirty years' lease of occupation granted by the Crown.

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Campbell Island, a little to the south-east of the Auckland Islands, in 52° 40′ S. lat., 169° 5′ E. long., was discovered in 1810 by the master of the ship *Perseverance*. It is uninhabited, and only occasionally visited by whalers and sealers, who describe it as about thirty miles in circumference; the coast bold and rocky, the interior elevated, some peaks attaining a very considerable height, the loftiest being of a conical shape, and rising in a straight line from the surrounding mountains; the amount of vegetation appears to be considerable, but the trees are all of stunted growth.

Macquarie Island, in 54° 35′ S. lat., 158° 56′ E. long., the most southerly of the Australasian groups, is likewise uninhabited. It was discovered in 1811 by a sealing master, who procured a cargo of 80,000 seal-skins. It is between fifteen and twenty miles long, about six miles in breadth, and is reported to possess two open anchorages. Notwithstanding the high latitude, the island is covered with vegetation; the land is uneven, indented by bights and ravines. A little distance to the northward lie two rocky islets, and there are two or three others equally sterile to the south.

Antipodes Island, a small unexplored tract, situated in 49° 50′ S. lat., 179° 40′ E. long., to the east of New Zealand, was discovered by Captain Pendleton, of the sealing vessel *Union*, in 1800, and received its name from its position with regard to London.

The Bounty Group, in 47° 44′ S. lat., 176° 47′ E. long., comprises thirteen islets, covering an extent from north to south of three miles and-a-half. The discovery was made by the celebrated Captain Bligh, R.N. in 1788, when on his passage to Tahiti.

## CHATHAM ISLANDS.

This small group extends about 120 miles from south-east to north-east, between 43° 38′ and 44° 40′ S. lat., and 177° and 179° W. long., and lies about 300 miles to the eastward of Cook's Straits. It was discovered on the 23rd of November, 1791, by Lieut. Broughton, R.N., when proceeding with Vancouver to survey the north-west coast of America. Broughton anchored in the bay on the north side of the chief island, landed and took nominal possession of the archipelago, by right of discovery, in the name of his sovereign George III. His proceedings displeased the aborigines, (a race very similar to the people of New Zealand,) and a contest ensued in which two Englishmen were wounded, and one native was killed. Broughton and his companions then returned to their boat, leaving behind, in a canoe, the trifling presents they had brought with them as a token of their peaceful intentions.

The sovereign right of England, according to the custom of civilized nations (the *equity* of which it is not here necessary to discuss) was thus established as against any other European power, much more as against its own subjects, who by the first principles of the British constitution, cannot acquire territorial jurisdiction and sovereign power in any waste or newly discovered region, unless expressly authorised by their sovereign. Notwithstanding this well-known rule, the New Zealand Company, which had been incorporated solely for the purpose of buying and selling land in New Zealand, conveying emigrants thither, and forming a settlement there, endeavoured to set aside the rights of the Crown in the Chatham Islands, almost as unceremoniously as they had done in the case of the Maories at Port Nicholson.

On the 28th of October, 1841, the directors announced to Lord Stanley that they had "acquired the Chatham Islands by purchase from the natives, and that they considered this group, to all intents and purposes, a foreign state, ruled by native chiefs, who have the undoubted right to cede their sovereignty to any foreign power they may think proper." The directors, therefore, deeming it not advisable that the Chatham Islands should any longer remain in the "*exclusive possession of their present barbarous inhabitants*," proposed to make a profit of them by selling the sovereignty and property in the soil of the whole of the islands to "certain parties officially connected with Hamburgh and other free cities of Germany." The concurrence or sanction of Her Majesty's ministers was not asked; they were merely informed, as an act of courtesy, that the "treaty" for the "transfer" of the territory to be placed under the "national flag of the Hanse Towns" was in progress.*

Lord Stanley took in this instance, as in all others, the straightforward and uncompromising course, best adapted to defeat these and similar agressions, by referring the matter to the crown lawyers, who described it as wholly unauthorised by the charter of the Company, declared their proposed "treaty" "an interference with the royal prerogative, and therefore unlawful; the possible inconvenience and dangers of such a course being quite obvious." His lordship, in communicating this opinion to the Company, added—"the crown lawyers have further reported their opinion, that the consequence of an abuse of the trust created by a charter, or of the powers thereby granted, may be the forfeiture of the charter altogether." Upon this the directors changed their tone, declared that no transfer had taken place, that it was merely a private transaction, and that they would abstain from any objectionable or illegal proceedings. In order to prevent a similar attempt, the islands were included as a dependency under the protection of Her Majesty's government at New Zealand, and comprised within the diocese of Bishop Selwyn, who has visited them several times.

Area and Aspect.—The largest of the archipelago, *Chatham Island,* is about thirty-six miles long from east to west, and has an area estimated at 600,000 acres. The others, viz., the *Two Sisters, Pyramid,* and *Cornwallis,* are of much smaller dimensions. In Chatham Island, the land gradually rises from the sea coast towards the interior. Its general character may be seen in a few minutes' walk from the beach. A large salt-water lake, called "Whanga," occupies about one-sixth of the island, and is not less than twenty miles in length: it has an opening to seaward, on the east coast,

* Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, 12th August, 1842; pp. 31-35.

but the water is too shallow to admit vessels. The other principal lake is named *Huro,* but it is greatly inferior in extent. Small copses of low bushes lie in the vales, between swampy hills, which pour their drainage into the lakes, and form the leading features of the landscape. The flat levels are everywhere intersected by marshy creeks, which serve as canals for the conveyance of produce.

The view from a hill near Rakautahi, over the Whanga lake, with two bold hills at its western extremity, is pleasing, without being striking or grand. If the whole island were cultivated, its gentle hills and slopes, and the variety of tarns and pools, would give it a soft and domestic character.* Much of the land is swampy, but when drained, yields the finest potatoes and garden vegetables of every kind.

The coast line has been but very imperfectly examined. Some rocks, called the *Sisters,* or *Itutahi,* lie off the northern coast; and Bishop Selwyn mentions having met with numerous signs of shipwreck. His own little vessel, the *Undine,* anchored in an open roadstead, on the eastern coast, called *Waitangi,* and was preserved from being driven on shore by the surf and by the furious eddies of wind encircling the land, only by a floating breakwater of sea-weed. Much better and more sheltered anchorage is, however, to be found at the opposite extremity of the wide bay, bordered by a flat, sandy beach, which divides the red bluffs of Waitangi, on the south, from the harbour of *Whangaroa,* or *Waikanae,* on the north.

The geology and mineralogy of the island have not been described.

Specimens of peat, taken from a layer not in actual formation, but covered by a loamy earth, several feet in thickness, and which were evidently formerly pure peat, had a conchoidal fracture and lustrous appearance, greatly resembling coal, whilst in other parts of the same specimen, the gradual transition from true peat was evident. Dr. Dieffenbach says, that the peat which occupies large tracts in the countries without the tropics, lies generally in horizontal and equal layers, often contains trees imbedded in an upright position, and when artificially compressed, resembles coal far more than any lignite substance he had ever seen. In opposition, therefore, to the generally-received theory concerning the origin of coal, he does not think it possible, by any agency, whether by the pressure of a superincumbent formation, or by igneous causes from below, or by both agencies combined, to convert a mixture of trees and earth, or mineral substance, into the regular stratifications of the homogenous article called coal.

SOIL AND CLIMATE.—The earth appears to consist chiefly of a rich vegetable mould, formed by the decay of vegetation, with a mixture of drifted sand. In its natural state it is generally swampy, but when drained and cultivated is very productive. The climate is stormy but salubrious: diseases are few, and not peculiar to the islands.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.—The vegetation is abundant, but the trees are of small size, and for some distance upwards the stems are devoid of branches. In many parts flax and fern predominate, and no timber is found. Wheat grows well, and is cultivated by the natives for exportation to New Zealand; their gardens also yield the finest potatoes and vegetables of every kind. There are no wild animals; the horse, ox, and pig have been introduced, and thriven well; their sleek skins shewing that hunger is to them unknown. Indeed, the signs of superabundant plenty are everywhere visible.

POPULATION.—The natives called *Paraiwhara* have evidently migrated from some other of the Polynesian islands. Nothing was known respecting them or their territory, in New Zealand, until about the year 1838, when the first account of them was brought by a European ship, upon hearing which, a large body of Maories then living at Port Nicholson, being themselves in fear of Te Rauperaha, seized the English brig *Rodney,* and induced the captain to convey them to Chatham Island, where they soon overpowered the aborigines, killing some, and reducing the remnant to a state of slavery, as was usual in Maori warfare. When Dr. Dieffenbach, with Mr. Hanson, visited the island in 1841, he ascertained that the people consisted of two tribes, named the *Nati-motunga* and the *Nati-tomma,* who were at war with each other, when the latter made the former prisoners, by seizing them in their pah. The whole number of inhabitants in the islands does not, it is supposed, now exceed one thousand.

In 1848, Bishop Selwyn saw several

* Bishop Selwyn's Visitation Tour, in 1848; pp. 99-100.

members of the aboriginal race, whose number he ascertained to be 268, including men, women, and children. They are not very different in appearance from the New Zealanders (except in the absence of the tattooing), and their language, at the time of the invasion, was perfectly intelligible to the Ngatiawa tribe, who usurped their territory. The bishop describes them as "a cheerful, willing people, and like many persons in a subordinate station, more obliging than their masters."* When conquered they were in a very primitive condition, their chief food being eels caught in the numerous lakes, and other fish on the coasts: so ignorant were they of esculent roots, that when shewn potatoes, they impaled them like eels on skewers, and sat watching them before the fire, expecting to see oil ooze out in the cooking. Their canoes were ingeniously made of small sticks carefully tied together with flaxen cordage, there being no trees of sufficient size to hollow out for the purpose.

Soon after the reception of Christianity by the Maories at Waikanae and Otaki, on the west coast of the Northern Island of New Zealand, the Rev. O. Hadfield sent native teachers over to the Chatham Islands, and the profession of Christianity spread rapidly. A German missionary establishment was subsequently formed at the eastern side of the island, on a wooded eminence, near a village named *Te Wakuru*. Bishop Selwyn, in 1848, was "cordially welcomed by the five gentlemen and three ladies who form the little missionary body." He found them living in the simple and unpretending manner, best adapted to their holy and apostolic calling; they seemed to be as one family, and to have all things in common. The station shewed many signs of the useful industry which forms an essential part of the system of German missionaries; a good windmill was then nearly completed, and the native chapel was furnished with neat glass windows, obtained from the cabin of a shipwrecked vessel.

The bishop endeavoured to induce them to place themselves in connexion with the Church of England, as many Lutheran clergymen have done, but in this attempt he did not succeed;—he also found a decided disinclination existing on the part of the natives to join the German communion, and a strong feeling in favour of the Church of England. He mentions as an instance of the religious feeling of the natives, the fact of nearly 400 people having assembled on a Saturday at Taupeka, for the services of the following day, while at another place seventy children were presented to him by the native teachers, with the full consent of their parents, that they might be admitted by the sacrament of baptism within the pale of the church. Thus, in this small and remote group, the benefits of Christianity are becoming appreciated.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ISLANDS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC TO WHICH ENGLAND HAS A CLAIM, OR WHICH, UNCLAIMED BY OTHER NATIONS, LIE CONTIGUOUS TO BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

THE intertropical islands to the west and north-west of the island-continent of Australia, are probably destined, in coming years, to occupy as prominent a position in the commercial annals of the world, as the West India Islands, adjacent to the American continent, have done during the past century, and may, it is to be hoped, again attain.

The migrating route of the Anglo-Australian people lies along the eastern coast from Moreton Bay towards Cape York; from thence the isles of Torres Straits form an oceanic bridge by which the neighbouring groups may with ease be reached; and thither a luxuriant clime, fertile soil, and beautiful scenery, will tempt many European adventurers to form establishments for the growth of the tropical productions required in the markets of the colder regions of Australia, Van Diemen's Island, and New Zealand. The enterprising and intelligent Chinese, who are sure to migrate wherever gold

* Visitation Tour, in 1848; p. 99.

or the hope of improved position may offer, will find their way there, as they have already done to California; and thus a population, comprising the three elements of capital, skill, and labour, will be created, adapted for the conversion of many of these rich but now almost waste lands, into scenes of active and profitable industry. The people now thinly scattered over these islands, appear to resemble strongly the aborigines of Australia, and are consequently decidedly inferior to the Maories of New Zealand; the few travellers who have had an opportunity of judging from personal experience, describe them as for the most part engaged in fierce and almost incessant hostility with each other, delighting in cannibalism, and all the worst vices and crimes of savages. On this dark and barbarous heathenism the light of Christianity is slowly dawning; missions are being planted, the native language reduced to a printed character, and the Gospel preached. This is as it should be; the conversion and at least partial education of the aborigines—be they few or many—ought always to prelude the colonization of their country; thus only can they learn to receive civilized men without being compelled to offer the opposition of enemies, or be reduced to the condition of slaves.

The rapid extinction of aboriginal races has become, in the mouths of many, a bye-word and a reproach to all colonizing nations, while others look upon it as an inevitable law that savage tribes should fade away and perish before the influence of a civilization for which neither they nor their children can ever become fitted. One thing, however, is certain—that England is bound by the faith she professes, and the first principles of the free constitution she so justly prizes, to remember that the "right of discovery" obtained as against other European nations, by the skill and daring of her navigators, if it have any validity, must necessarily involve a certain amount of responsibility, and that even in this case—much more in those where she is in the actual exercise of sovereignty—it is clearly her duty to make every effort for the preservation and progress of the races entrusted by the Ruler of Nations to her care and guidance. The present moment is an important one, rich in opportunities which wisely used, may be fraught with blessings, and avert great misery and bloodshed. Is it not of immediate importance that these islands, whither British adventurers at no distant period will surely congregate, should be prepared for their reception?—that the natives should be guarded against the rapacity of the future settlers—the settlers protected from the ruthless barbarity of the natives?—that they be placed at least to some extent on a par with each other before a sweeping decree declares them fellow-subjects, yet yokes them in most unequal fellowship?

A wide field lies open, offering abundant scope for national and individual exertion: state policy and Christian duty dictate the same course, as, when rightly understood, they ever must do, pointing out the unmixed good that would attend the conversion and civilization of these islanders. True, the task is no light one; yet, when we think of the great work that has been wrought in New Zealand, or looking towards Eastern Polynesia, behold in the Society Islands, Sandwich Islands, and other groups, the harvest of long years of toil, privation, and danger, being at length reaped, and a goodly fold gathered under the protection of the Shepherd of Souls, we may well believe that the Christian associations, who, under the various denominations of the *Church Missionary, Wesleyan, London, Baptist, Moravian,* and other missionary societies, have been the chosen instruments of effecting this great work, may be permitted to prosecute, with equal success, the labours now commenced in the islands whose leading characteristics, so far as they have yet been described, are briefly stated in the ensuing pages.

New Caledonia was first sighted by Captain Cook, on the 4th September, 1774, during the course of his second voyage round the world. He landed, examined several parts of the island, and caused an inscription to be cut on a large tree near the watering-place where his ship lay at anchor, setting forth the ship's name, the date of the visit, and other particulars, in testimony of the British discovery of the country, as he had done at all other places at which he had touched, "where this ceremony was necessary."

The extreme length of the island is about 250 miles, the average breadth from twenty-five to thirty miles: it extends from 19° 37′ to 22° 30′ S. lat., and from 163° 37′ to 167° 14′ E. long. It is bordered by immense coral reefs, rising from the depths of the ocean, so like a perpendicular wall, that Captain Kent, commander of the *Buffalo,* sounding at no greater distance than twice the length

of his ship, with a line of 150 fathoms, could find no bottom. These reefs extend for perhaps thirty miles beyond the south point of New Caledonia, and in the opposite direction terminate in a circular form at double that distance from the land, thus constituting an embankment, against which the surging waves dash with extreme violence. Within the reefs the sea is always tranquil, and is studded with numerous lofty isles and islets.

Physical features.—The aspect of the island bears much resemblance to some parts of Australia, situated under the same parallels of latitude, in its barren and mountainous appearance, in many of its natural productions, in the coral reefs on its coast, and the absence of undergrowth in its woods. A lofty chain traverses it in a north-west to south-east direction, and lesser ridges rise on either side. Their elevation is described as varying from 2,000 to 6,000 feet; one eminence, however, is conjectured to attain a height of 8,000 feet.

A tract of flat land, intersected by winding streams, lies along the north-eastern shore, and the plantations, the little straggling villages, the variety in the woods, and the shoals on the coast, are described by Cook as affording an animated and pleasing scene. He likewise speaks of an extensive inland valley lying between two hilly ridges, through which ran a serpentine river, on whose banks were several native plantations and villages. The fertile spots on the plains, and some few on the sides of the mountains, were, however, only exceptional, the remainder appearing a dreary waste. The mountains and high places are, "for the most part, incapable of cultivation, consisting chiefly of rocks, many of which are full of mundicks. The little soil that is upon them is scorched and burnt up with the sun; it is, nevertheless, coated with coarse grass and other plants, and here and there trees and shrubs."* In fact, nature appears to have been less bountiful to this than to any other of the tropical islands in the Western Pacific.

The summits of some few hills are clothed with wood, as are most of the plains and valleys, which are irrigated by numerous streamlets. The available land is diligently cultivated by the natives. Near the village where Cook landed, and also in other localities, the ground was laid out in plantations of sugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots: and watered by little rills conducted by art from the main stream, whose source was in the hills. He saw some roots baking on a fire in an earthen jar which would have held six or eight gallons, and which he did not doubt was their own manufacture. The loose black mould on the sides of the hills is sustained in its place by embankments of stone—as is done by the Chinese, and in some of the Malay islands. Of manuring the soil they have no idea, their only mode of recruiting its exhausted powers of production, being to allow it to remain fallow for some years.

Population.—In appearance and language there is considerable dissimilarity between the aborigines of New Caledonia and those of the neighbouring groups: on the whole they resemble the Papuan negro rather than the Malay. They are of moderate height, well-proportioned, and of a swarthy colour inclining to brown. Their long, bushy, frizzled hair, of a jet black, is sometimes worn by the men tied in a bunch upon the crown of the head, and sometimes in two bunches, one on either side. Combs, composed of pieces of stick about the size of knitting-needles, are worn; they are generally about two inches long. The women all crop theirs closely, which gives them, in spite of their tortoise-shell ear-rings, a very unattractive appearance. The only covering worn by the men is a sort of apron, formed from the bark of a tree, fastened to a girdle which passes round the waist, or occasionally a large mat or wrapper; but the women wear a kind of short petticoat composed of the filaments of the plantain tree, and reaching below the knee. Their number was supposed by Mr. Forster, in 1774, to amount to about 50,000; this was probably an over estimate. The Rev. John Inglis, a reformed Presbyterian missionary, who visited the groups in the Western Pacific, towards the close of 1850, during a cruise of H.M.S. *Havannah*, (Captain Erskine), estimates the joint population of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands (a small neighbouring group) at only 40,000. Great destruction of life has taken place since the introduction of fire-arms, upon obtaining which the natives of the Isle of Pines went over, and nearly depopulated the south end of New Caledonia. Their native weapons consisted of stone axes with wooden handles, clubs, wooden spears or darts which they throw with

* Cook's Second Voyage, p. 529.

extraordinary dexterity, and smooth stones which they sling so skilfully as to strike down a staff at a considerable distance. The club has in many places been superseded by the tomahawk. They have no musical instruments, but are very fond of dancing, and strike sticks together as an accompaniment. The system of the *tapu* or *taboo*, formerly so general in New Zealand, is also practised here. The cocoa-nut trees are tapued, or made sacred, till all the other crops are planted, or till some feast is celebrated, and death is the penalty of touching the forbidden fruit. The *tattoo* is not among their customs. Circumcision is generally practised. Their houses are of a superior description to those found in the other islands of the Western Pacific, being constructed of a wattled frame, and thatched with grass; the walls are round, and the roofs conical; in appearance they resemble corn ricks; while in the neighbouring groups they have simply oblong sheds, some small, others very large. Their canoes are of considerable size, but clumsily formed, two single ones being usually fastened together with a kind of platform. Their character has been differently described. Cook bears honourable testimony to their good nature and honesty, they being " not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea;" he also commends the chastity of the women.

Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, who visited the island twenty years after, described them as strongly addicted to predatory habits; the statements of both navigators at the time they were given were doubtless correct, the temptation to thieving having increased with the successive visits of foreigners; the character of the women has deteriorated, doubtless from the same cause.

It remained, however, for more recent visitors to make known the most abhorrent feature in their character—cannibalism. It was long before the civilised portion of the world could believe that human nature, in its most savage state, its lowest abasement, could deliberately practise this loathsome and brutalising crime; but the testimony of many credible witnesses has placed beyond a reasonable doubt, that it has actually prevailed, more or less, throughout both Eastern and Western Polynesia, but especially in the latter. The most recent authority (the Rev. John Inglis) says that " in open day, and as an ordinary practice, human bodies have been cooked and eaten by the score, and by the hundred." And he accords to the New Caledonians the fearful distinction of being, with the single exception of the natives of Fiji, " among the worst cannibals of Polynesia." In illustration of this he mentions that " at Shuaka, on the east of New Caledonia, one chief, in the space of thirty-five days, had caused as many as seventy people to be killed for the express purpose of being eaten. He always alleged some crime against them, but it was well known that the real object was to obtain their flesh to eat."* The natives, however, are everywhere beginning to feel ashamed of the practice; the influence of missionary operations, and the occasional visits of ships-of-war, are telling powerfully upon them, and by the blessing of God cannibalism will be soon entirely eradicated.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS. — The inhabitants, partly from the nature of the soil, and partly from their imperfect, though careful mode of cultivation, were formerly but insufficiently supplied with the necessaries of life. The only native quadruped is the rat. Cook left with them a boar and a sow, and a male and female dog; but these were probably destroyed, as neither pigs nor dogs now exist on the island. The native vegetation comprises several kinds of timber, and some of the best known tropical productions, viz:—the bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, plantain, banana, and fig trees, sugar-canes, and yams; but most of these grow only in certain districts, and all, from the aridity of the soil, are of inferior quality. There are also three descriptions of the *arum*, or taro, and one of the sweet potato (*battata convolvulans*) . The *arbor alba*, from whose odorous leaves the aromatic kaiaputa, or cajeput-oil, is extracted, likewise grows here. The soft, ragged bark of certain trees, and the tuberous roots of others, are sometimes used for food. The introduction of maize, pumpkins, melons, and other exotic productions, has now greatly ameliorated the physical condition of the natives, in respect to food.†

* Report to Governor Grey. Printed at Auckland, New Zealand, im 1850; p. 21.

† In one of a series of papers furnished me, when editing the *Colonial Magazine* in 1840, by Mr. Polack, the author of an interesting work on New Zealand, quoted in the preceding pages, it is stated that the natives of the interior of the islands were driven to satisfy their hunger by eating a soft saponaceous crumbling stone, or steatite of a green colour, which, though it might appease the cravings of hunger, could not afford any real nourishment and gave them an enfeebled and emaciated appearance.'

***Fish*** of several descriptions abound; the method of capturing them employed by the natives, appears to be by lying on the coral reefs by which the shores are bordered, and striking them with their wooden spears, or catching them with small hand-nets and fish-gigs; but no mention is made of their using seines, or hooks and lines. Turtles are plentiful, as are also the famous bêche de mer, or sea-slug.

An exceedingly poisonous species of fish is found; it is described by Cook, who purchased one, among other kinds, from a native, as being "something like a sun fish, with a large, long, ugly head. No suspicion being entertained of its deleterious qualities, it was dressed for supper; Cook and the two Forsters alone partook of it, and they tasted only the liver and roe. About three o'clock in the morning they were seized with an extraordinary weakness and numbness in their limbs. Cook says he almost lost the sense of feeling, and could not distinguish between such light and heavy bodies as he had strength to move, a quart-pot full of water and a feather being the same in his hand. By emetics and sudorifics these distressing symptoms were removed: one of the pigs which had eaten the entrails died. These poisonous fish are probably similar to those found on the coral banks off Rodrigues Isle, near the Mauritius. Voyagers should be cautious in eating any species devoid of scales.

*Land-birds* are tolerably numerous; the species, however, are not very various, and resemble those found in New Zealand rather than New South Wales. In fact, the Flora of New Caledonia in general resembles that of the former, and the Fauna that of the latter locality. *Sea-fowl* of various kinds have been noticed. ***Reptiles*** there are none, except lizards. Mosquitoes and sand-flies are very troublesome. Locusts are much used as an article of food; and a peculiar description of spider is also occasionally eaten.

Geology.—According to Mr. Polack, quartz is very abundant, both opaque and transparent; mica; various steatites, more or less hard; green schorl; serpentine; hornblende; and the talc, or poenamoo of New Zealand, are also found. Several irregular masses of rock have been noted, composed of remarkably close-grained stone, speckled with granites, each the size of a pin's head; garnets have been observed in petrosilex.* No evidence of volcanic agency has been discovered. Specular iron ore and gold are said to exist.

The *climate* is not considered unhealthy; neither fever nor ague are known; hernia, hydrocele, and ulcerated noses and faces are, however, common: and Mr. Inglis states, that influenza, and other epidemics, occasionally prevail, and prove more or less fatal. Cases of elephantiasis have also been remarked.

Some of the smaller islands in the vicinity of New Caledonia are comparatively populous. A French Roman Catholic mission was established on the main island, a few years ago, but has recently been abandoned, and the missionaries are now located on the Isle of Pines, so named by Cook, from the fine trees growing there, which afford timber adapted for the masts and spars of ships. This little isle lies a short distance off *Queen Charlotte's Foreland,* the south-east extremity of New Caledonia, and is about a mile in circuit. Another still smaller isle was visited by Cook, and named *Botany Isle,* from the variety of tall trees, (some of which measured twenty inches diameter, and between sixty and seventy in length,) and of shrubs and plants growing on its sandy surface. Water-snakes, pigeons, and doves were also found here.

*Balabea,* and several other isles, together with numerous rocks and shoals, lie between the main island and the outer reefs; but of these no especial mention need be made.

New Hebrides. — The group bearing this name extends between 14° 0′ and 21° 0′ S. lat., and between 168° 41′ and 170° 0′ E. long. Quiros, in 1606, sighted these islands, and supposed them to be part of the immense *Terra Austral* of which mention has been so frequently made. Bougainville discovered that the land was unconnected, and composed of several islands which he called the Great Cyclades. Cook, in 1774, explored the whole archipelago, discovered many new islands, and gave them their present appellation. The following is a brief description of their leading features:—

The largest and most westerly, *Terra del Espiritu Santo,* is 66 miles long, from N.N.W. to S.S.E., and 36 miles broad. The northern coast is indented by a deep curve, comprising 20 leagues of sea-coast, called the *Bay of St. Philip and St. James,* which is everywhere free from danger, and of unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. The two points forming the entrance are 10 leagues

* *Vide Colonial Magazine* for 1840, p. 411.

distant; the eastern is named *Cape Quiros*, the N.W. *Cape Cumberland.* The bay as well as the flat land at the head of it is bounded on each side by a ridge of hills; the western range is very high and double, traversing the whole length of the island, whose entire area, but especially the W. side, is exceedingly high and mountainous—in many places the hills rise directly from the sea. Besides the bay of St. Philip and St. James, other good bays and havens are doubtless formed by the isles which lie along the S. and E. coast. Except the cliffs and beaches, every other part of the surface is covered with wood, or laid out in plantations, from the number and extent of which the inhabitants would appear to be industrious and comparatively numerous. The chief feature in the luxuriant vegetation is formed by the fine cocoa-nut trees and graceful palms. Streams of fresh water flow through every little valley.

The next considerable island is *Malicola*, to the S.E. It extends N.W. and S.E. for above 50 miles, and has a varying breadth of from 8 to 24 miles, the middle being the narrowest part, a wide and tolerably deep bay on the S.W. side causing the diminution. The sea-coast is low, indented by creeks, and skirted by islets. A profuse tropical vegetation extends from the shore to the summits of the hills. *St. Bartholomew's Island*, which is about 20 miles in circuit, is situated at the N.E. point of the strait, named after Bougainville, that separates Malicola from Espiritu Santo. The centre of the passage is in 15° 45′ S. lat., 168° 28′ E. long.

The *Isle of Lepers*, of an egg-like shape, very high, and between 50 and 60 miles in circumference, lies between Espiritu Santo, and *Aurora Island*, a remarkably elevated and hilly tract everywhere covered with vegetation, intersected with streams, and well inhabited. It is 33 miles long, but rarely exceeds 6 or 7 in breadth. The plantations are filled with the finest fruit produced in the archipelago. *Whitsuntide Island* is one league and-a-half further to the S., it is of similar length, and lies in the same N. and S. direction, but is somewhat broader, and is clothed with wood except in the cultivated portions.

Two miles to the S. of Whitsuntide is *Ambryn*, an island of about 50 miles in circumference. The shores are low, but the land rises with an unequal ascent to a tolerably high mountain, which is an active volcano. It is fertile and populous.

*Paaom* is 15 miles in circumference; the land attains a great height in the form of a hummock; it is well peopled, and is divided in two by a canal. The neighbouring island of *Apee* is not less than 60 miles in circumference; it is very hilly, and diversified with woods and lawns. Off its southern extremity a small group extends, called *Shepherd's Isles. Three Hills Island*, about 15 miles in circmference, lies 4 leagues S. of Apee. *Sandwich Island* lies 9 miles to the S. of Three Hills, and is of much greater importance, being about 75 miles in circuit; its greatest extent in the direction of N.W. by W., and S.E. by E., is 30 miles.

*Montagu Island* is situated 6 miles north of Sandwich Island, and is 18 miles in circumference. The neighbouring isle, named *Two Hills*, from two remarkable and elevated mountains, separated by a straight and low isthmus, is only 2 miles in length; a channel, 3 miles long and 1 broad, intervenes between it and the *Monument*, a peaked black rock 200 feet high, nearly covered with bushes. *Hinchinbrook* is about 40 miles in circumference; two or three small isles lie between it and Sandwich Island, with which heavy breakers evidence its connexion.

*Erumanga*, distant 18 leagues from Sandwich, is 70 or 75 miles in circumference; six leagues from its southern shore is *Tana*, an island 24 miles in length, with a breadth varying between 9 and 12 miles. On the north side of the eastern point of *Tana* is *Port Resolution*, so named by Cook in honour of the first ship that ever entered it. It is formed by a little creek running inland for ¾ of a mile, and about half as much broad. This harbour is particularly convenient for taking in wood and water, for both are close to the shore; the depth of water is from 6 to 8 fathoms, and the bottom sand and mud. About 4 miles from Port Resolution there is a large volcano, which was visited by the Rev. J. Inglis in 1851. Of seven or eight craters, some were then extinct, others smouldering, and two were in a state of great activity; every five minutes or so, the one or the other emitted a dense cloud of smoke, exploded with a sound like thunder, and discharged a shower of molten matter. The volcano is always active, though the eruptions vary greatly in violence and duration, the noise at times being heard only in its immediate vicinity, and at others being distinctly audible at Aneiteum, a distance of 30 to 40 miles. The mountain is low, and an area of perhaps 3 miles in diameter is covered with ashes. It is close to the sea upon one side. For a considerable extent along the side of Port Resolution, next the volcano, a succession of hot springs bubble out from the rocks on a level with the tide-mark, of all temperatures, from the boiling point downwards. The water is fresh, has no peculiar taste, and is regularly used by the natives. In one or two places smoke issues from the ground, and the soil is burned and cracked.

The island of *Penticost*, discovered by Bougainville, is high, well cultivated, and covered with abundant vegetation; it is 23 miles long and 8 broad. The isle of *Immer*, the most westerly of the Hebrides, is about 15 miles in circuit, of considerable height, and flat at the top. *Aneiteum*, the southernmost island, has a hilly surface, and is between 11 and 12 leagues distant from Port Resolution. A sandal-wood establishment has existed here for several years, and a Presbyterian mission, which will be subsequently mentioned, has been more recently formed. The population is estimated at about 3,000. The most northerly island discovered and named by Quiros, *Nuestra Signora de Luz*, was called *Pic de l'Etoile* by Bougainville, from the remarkable cone which rises in the interior. It is about 12 miles in circuit.

*Geology, Soil, Climate, and Natural Productions.*—The formation of many of the islands is evidently volcanic, but beyond this fact little is known; the soil when manured would probably richly repay its cultivator. The climate from November till April, during the N.W. monsoons, is decidedly unhealthy, the hot and humid atmosphere giving rise to fever, similar to the jungle fever of India, and severe ague. At this season, violent thunderstorms and fierce hurricanes are frequent, and heavy rains continue for weeks together. The winter is, however, said to be healthy and agreeable; and the natives are in general well-formed, vigorous and robust, with remarkably white and well-set teeth. The vegetation much resembles that of New Zealand in its close undergrowth, and variety of ferns. A

species of the kauri pine is likewise found. Among the various indigenous products, the most important are—the sandal-wood, of which considerable quantities are obtained from the various groups in the western Pacific for sale in the Chinese markets, bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, which, however, are neither very fine nor numerous, oranges, bananas, wild figs, nutmegs, nectarines, citrons, almonds, and the pepper plant; sugar-canes and yams flourish luxuriantly in several of the islands, the latter especially sometimes weighing between 50 and 60 pounds, and being of excellent quality. The taro and the sweet potato are also cultivated. To the above, various exotic products have since been added, such as maize, pumpkins, and the "papaya" apple. The only indigenous quadruped is the rat; pigs were, however, introduced previous to the explorations of Cook. Fowls (similar to the domestic fowl of Europe) afford an important article of food, and are common to all the islands, as are also wild ducks, teal, water-hens, pigeons, parrots, parroquets, swallows, and fly-catchers. Owls and large bats abound in the forests. The only reptile is the lizard, and a species of sea-snake. Fish does not abound, at least the natives do not appear to attach very great importance to it, and but few of them possess the necessary adjuncts for fishing even after their imperfect method. Various species have, however, been observed.

*Population.*—The New Hebrides group is estimated to contain at present about 40,000 inhabitants, between whom many striking points of difference exist, both in their persons and language. They have all curly black hair, and are darker than the New Zealanders, but not nearly so black as the Africans. In stature they vary, being in some of the islands above, and in others below the average size. The people of Malicola are described by Cook as particularly ill-favoured and unprepossessing. Their clothing is much the same throughout, the men wearing a narrow cincture, and a wrapper of leaves or native cloth; the women a mat manufactured from the bark of a tree, adding, in some instances, a cordal appendage, which, seen from a distance, might easily be mistaken for a tail. The men of Aneiteum and Yana dress their hair after a peculiar fashion, dividing it into small locks, and twisting it round the rind of a slender plant, thus giving it the appearance of a bunch of small whipcord.

According to the reports of the missionaries recently stationed in this archipelago, the natives are occupied in fighting for ten months in the year; but there is comparatively little loss of life, as if one man is killed on either side the battle terminates for the day. Their chief missiles are wooden spears, which they use with marvellous dexterity. At Malicola dancing is a very popular amusement, and for two months in the year the natives meet daily at midnight for that purpose; here also every family or few families have a cluster of 10 to 20 drums, made from trees hollowed out like a canoe, and fixed into the ground, rising about 6 feet high. The opening on the side of the tree is as narrow as it can be made to allow the wood to be scooped out of the centre. When struck they emit a hollow funereal sound, and are employed to furnish music at their dances, and on other occasions. In some of the islands the natives are said to sing very sweetly. Their traditions and superstitions are many of them similar to those extant in the Eastern Pacific, and it is easy to trace in them their reference to several of the great facts of universal history; for instance, they assert that the island was fished up by one of the gods, who afterwards made a man and a woman, from whom they had descended; and a native of Aneiteum, while one day listening to an oral translation of the Scriptural narrative of the flood, made by a missionary, cried out, "Stop! that is almost the same as ours, but your fathers having written an account for you, while ours only told it to their children, yours must be the more correct." Polygamy prevails to some extent, especially among the chiefs. The wife is strangled upon the death of her husband, or even when he is long absent from home; and all the children not able to support themselves share the same fate. The *tapu* is employed in all the islands to preserve persons and objects. The plantations are cleared, fenced, and cultivated with great care; irrigation is extensively practised, and canals more than a mile long are observable along the sides of the hills. Their knowledge of navigation is very imperfect; their canoes are inferior to those of New Caledonia and other groups, and at the time of Cook they were all ignorant of the extent of the archipelago they inhabited. Tobacco is fast coming into general use, but the taste for alcoholic liquors has not yet been acquired.

*Missionary Operations.*—A deputation from the London Missionary Society visited the New Hebrides in 1839, when the Rev. J. Williams and Mr. Harris were unhappily killed by the natives of Erumanga. Native teachers were subsequently planted on Aneiteum, Tana, and other islands; but a great number of them have perished, either from the climate, or by the hands of the barbarous natives. In 1842, two of the London Society's missionaries were located, with their families, on Tana, for ten months, when influenza, or some epidemic appearing, the natives attributed the calamity to their influence, and compelled them to quit, since which time no European missionary has been stationed there.

In 1848, a Presbyterian Mission was established at Aneiteum, the progress of which has been extremely encouraging, and life and property are perfectly secure throughout the island. A French Roman Catholic Mission was established there in 1848–'49; but the missionaries have since been wholly withdrawn from the New Hebrides. The small tribes, diversified languages, and little communication existing between the different islanders, are doubtless obstacles in the great and holy task of converting and civilizing them. The climate, again is a terrible difficulty. Encouragements to persevere are, however, not wanting, in the naturally mild disposition of the people, when their passions are not excited: their energy and perseverance, also (a most unusual feature in the character of savages); their aptitude for acquiring the English language; their present strong desire for English missionaries to live among them; and their confidence in the British character.*

QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLANDS, a small group to the northward of the New Hebrides, were so called by Carteret, who visited them in 1767; the principal island, which is about 24 miles in length and 10 in breadth, he named *Egmont;* it had, however, pre-

* *Vide* Report of the Rev. John Inglis; 1851: p. 30.

viously been discovered by the Spanish navigator Mendana, who had given it the appellation of *Vera Cruz*, which it still retains. To one of the smaller isles, *Vanicolo*, a melancholy interest attaches, as the spot where the celebrated La Perouse, and his companion, M. de l'Anglo, perished; their vessels, the *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*, having been wrecked on a coral reef. In their general character and productions, Queen Charlotte's Islands, bear a considerable resemblance to New Zealand. The population is probably a few thousands.

The Solomon Islands, are eighteen in number, and extend between 5° and 10° S. lat., and 155° and 160° E. long. They also were first visited by Mendana, in 1567, and were so far forgotten in the lapse of years, that their very existence was doubted by geographers until their rediscovery by Carteret. The names and positions of the principal of them will be seen by a reference to the general map of the Polynesian Islands. The number of the people is unknown, but it is thought to be considerable; cannibalism is a fearfully prominent feature in their character. They tattoo their bodies, wear rings in their ears and noses, and appear to live in a state of continual warfare. Their canoes are skilfully constructed and ornamented with mother-of-pearl.

The islands situated to the north-east of the Solomon group, namely, New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, the Admiralty, and others of smaller dimensions, were long considered by the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish navigators, to be part of New Guinea. Dampier proved their insularity at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

New Britain extends about 280 miles from E.N.E. to W.S.W. with a very variable breadth, owing to the numerous indentations of the coast-line, in some places being not eight, and in others nearly thirty miles broad. A chain of mountains occupies a large portion of its area.

Dampier, D'Urville, and the unfortunate D'Entrecasteaux, (who perished of scurvy off this coast), agree in describing New Britain as a country gifted with great natural advantages. The coast is easily accessible on every shore; the land in most parts rises with a gentle ascent, is covered with a beautiful and varied vegetation, and irrigated by numerous streams. The mountains are wooded to their summits. Plantains, cocoa-nuts, cabbage-palms, and areca-nuts; wild spices, including ginger, turmeric, pepper, and nutmegs; yams and various other vegetables are indigenous. Among the birds, parrots, parroquets, and a species of cockatoo are very numerous.

The bays and creeks abound with fish. The geology and mineralogy of the island have not been examined. The climate is salubrious. The aborigines are dark-coloured, with frizzled hair and large lips; their bodies are painted and oiled, and the nose and lobes of the ears perforated, and adorned with various articles, such as the teeth of men, dogs, sharks, &c.

New Ireland has a length of nearly 200 miles, from north-east to south-west, with a breadth varying from eight to twenty miles. A chain of mountains, like those of the contiguous groups, runs through the centre. The scenery, soil, and climate much resemble those of New Britain.

New Hanover, so named by Carteret, in 1767, is about twenty-eight miles long, and twelve broad; mountainous, and well wooded. A strait, from five to six miles wide, separates it from New Ireland.

The Admiralty Islands extend 120 miles from east to west, and fifty from north to south. They are about twenty-five in number, and are mostly high. The largest, named *Basco*, is fifty miles from east to west, with a breadth of eighteen to twenty miles: it is mountainous, and well wooded. *Jesus Maria* has a circuit of twenty; others have diameters of four or five miles; and several are quite small. The general aspect is very pleasing. The aborigines are similar to those of the before-mentioned groups, and their savage nature contrasts strangely with the beautiful and peaceful scenery around.

There are various other isles in this vicinity, but space only permits a brief notice of the extensive and valuable island, separated by Torres Strait from the northern coast of Australia.

New Guinea, or Papua, extends in a south-east direction from the equator to the parallel of 10° S., and between 130° and 150° E. long. The irregularity of its form renders it difficult to form any estimate of its area. In one place, a narrow isthmus connects the eastern with the western portion of the island. The interior is mountainous, and the scenery extremely picturesque: large lakes, numerous rivers, grassy lowlands, and lofty forests, constitute the principal features. The inhabitants are reported to be very barbarous, and fearfully addicted to cannibalism.



